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AETOLIA

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

AETOLIA

ITS GEOGRAPHY, TOPOGRAPHY, AND ANTIQUITIES

BY

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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

64 216
11/4/05

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1897

Oxford
PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
BY HORACE HART, M.A.
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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261
A2W65

ERRATUM

Page 127, l. 9 from top, *for* Old Aetolia *read* Old Pleuron

PREFACE

With the exception of Chapters VI, XXI, XXII, and the whole of the *Notes*, this book is in the main identical with the Essay to which, in 1894, was awarded the Conington Memorial Prize offered in Oxford 'once in every three years for a dissertation . . . on some subject appertaining to classical learning.' It represents the chief part of my work in Greece during the years 1892 and 1893 as Craven Fellow.

It is at first sight somewhat surprising to find that the topography of Aetolia is so little complicated. It presents few great problems. Nor, as a rule, are the ruins themselves attractive. There is little in them to interest the non-scientific observer, and ordinary stores of historical or poetical reminiscence are beginning to fail by the time that Aetolia is reached. Very striking is the contrast between the splendid remains with which Akarnania is studded, and the miserable fragments of the poorer art on the east of the Acheloos.

The simplicity of the topography of Aetolia, the mutilation of its ruins, and their technical characteristics, are explicable by the light of the history of the country: at the same time that history only attains its full value by borrowing actuality from geography and topography. Should any one be tempted to look askance upon the latter subject, let him recall the words of Professor Ramsay[1]:—

[1] I quote from his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (p. 51 fol.)—a *thesaurus* of knowledge, and a very text-book of topographical method.

'Topography is the foundation of history. No one who has familiarized himself with Attic history in books, and has afterwards ascended Pentelicus and seen that history spread forth before him in the valleys and mountains and sea that have moulded it, will ever disbelieve in the value of topography as an aid to history. . . . Yet few that study Greek history, and play the part of examiner or examinee in it, realize what we owe to the greatest of modern topographers, Leake. Who, that goes through the usual course of highest honours in ancient history and literature, ever hears the fame of Leake, or knows that he has done more to make a real understanding of Greek life possible than any other Englishman of this century? We all know Curtius' *History of Greece*: how many of us know a finer and greater work, Curtius' *Peloponnesos*? Some of us are even so narrow as to imagine that the reading of some modern books, supplemented by a little study of Thucydides, Herodotus, and Xenophon (a few reach Polybius—how very few go deeper!), will enable us to understand ancient history. If we want to understand the ancients, and especially the Greeks, we must breathe the same air that they did, and saturate ourselves with the same scenery and the same nature that wrought upon them. For this end correct topography is a necessary, though a humble, servant.'

Our predecessors in the field of Aetolian topography practically reduce themselves to two,—Colonel Leake and M. Bazin. For the older writers belong to a different order. Compelled to forgo, or even scarcely dreaming of, living contact with the land itself, they are unable to distinguish the wheat from the chaff in their gleanings from the Classics. At an early stage of their investigations they find themselves involved in hopeless confusions and contradictions, which baffle every attempt at re-construction. And Pouqueville's claim to be taken seriously as a topographer is disposed of by his own naïve confession,—'je donnai par une sorte d'inspiration des noms à tous les lieux qui m'environnaient.' How must we regard one who, with respect to the facts of his subject, exhibits the recklessness found so often in the pages of the *Voyage dans la Grèce*? We despair of dissecting out genuine observations from the tissue of fiction and conjecture[1].

A new era begins with the publication of Leake's *Travels*

[1] Cf. Puillon-Boblaye, *Expédition Scientifique de Morée*, p. 10: 'Pouqueville qui malheureusement, suivant Mannert, répand tant de fleurs sur sa route qu'il est quelquefois difficile d'en reconnaître la trace.'

in Northern Greece. In dealing with Aetolia the 'model traveller' is certainly less happy than in the case of any other section of Hellas. Doubtless, if he could have explored the country more thoroughly, both his own errors and the discoveries reserved for his successors would have been reduced in number. Leake's acquaintance with Aetolia was indeed extremely limited. From Patras he sailed to Varássova and proceeded to Mesolónghi. Thence he crossed the Zygós to Vrachóri, visiting the kástro of Kyría Eiríni on the way. From Vrachóri he made an excursion to the ruins at Paravóla (Kúvelos) and Vlochós, and crossed the Acheloos into Akarnania. On his second visit he reached Aetolia from the west, and traversed the Paracheloïtis: on his way from Mesolónghi to Bochóri he inspected the ruins of Kalydon. In Eastern Aetolia he made but a single journey, from Amphissa by way of Lidhoríki and the range of Tríkorpho and Vígla to Naupaktos.

With regard to the number of sites discoverable upon Leake's routes we have hardly anything to add to what we find in the *Travels.* We are principally engaged in correcting the slight inaccuracies and in filling up the gaps that inevitably mar the notes of a traveller when he examines a site for the first time, often under the pressure of the hundred and one necessities of the road. With respect to the identifications also Leake left little for subsequent explorers to do. We marvel at the precision with which he assigned their names to the remains: Chalkis, Kalydon, Halikyrna, New and Old Pleuron, Pylene, Proschion, Paianion, Konope, Lysimacheia, Trichonion,—all these were identified by Leake. With far other and deeper meaning might he have exclaimed with Pouqueville that by inspiration he named the ruins in his path. It was an inspiration born of an intimate knowledge of the ancient texts and a genuine feeling for the conditions of life in classical times, both combined with a soldier's eye for geography.

Of a different stamp is Bazin. He reminds us forcibly of Pouqueville. We find in the *Mémoire sur l'Étolie* that slightness of treatment which we have remarked as charac-

teristic of the *Voyage dans la Grèce*. Its inequality also made it impossible for us to regard the *Mémoire* as final. To a certain extent, perhaps, Bazin is not to blame for this defect, as travelling in Aetolia must have been more difficult thirty years ago than it is now. Still, the fact remains, that only in Old Aetolia, of which Leake had all but exhausted the possibilities fifty years before him, is Bazin really complete. It is strange to find so many sites unknown to him, even in Central Aetolia where his work was most original. In the matter of identification Bazin, of course, takes us a long way further than was possible for Leake. To his credit fall the identifications of Phana, Elaos, Phytaion, Boukation, Krokyleion, and Teichion. A special merit of his *Mémoire* is the perception of the importance of the technical varieties exhibited in the masonry of the ruins, and the endeavour to define them precisely.

In the following pages, while taking the strictly topographical part a stage beyond the point reached by previous inquirers, an attempt has been made to produce something more than a mere list and description of the sites with conjectures as to their ancient names. However imperfectly, I have tried to direct attention to the physical conditions and the natural relations under which the towns of Aetolia stood, and to trace the influence of these factors upon the part played in history by their inhabitants. Furthermore, I can feel no sympathy with the conservatism that is content to pore for ever over a printed text while contemning the fragments of reality that almost daily are revivifying the dead page and filling up its lacunae. I have endeavoured, therefore, to supplement the meagreness of the literary sources of information by an appeal to every particle of evidence discoverable on the sites themselves. To compare small things with great, I have tried to do for Aetolia what Professor Ramsay has done for the cities of Phrygia,—how rich the stores of literary and epigraphic material in the one case, in the other how poverty-stricken! Yet the Aetolian cities are bound together in the pathos of a truly national history. That to some this supplementary evidence should

appear to have been unduly strained, and the conclusions to which it leads purely fanciful, is inevitable: but it is only by expressly formulating such conclusions that antagonism can be aroused, energy be directed upon a definite point, and a net result of truth be carried away to the sum of knowledge.

In the above statement of aims there is implied the desire to make this treatise the second member of a triad. It presupposes what we may call a 'History of the Art of Fortification in Greece,' a work unfolding the principles governing military construction in Aetolia and Greece generally, and justifying the conclusions drawn therefrom, or at least the very attempt to draw conclusions. Secondly, since it is only at the bidding of the Muse of History that the dry bones of topography become instinct with life, we must proceed from the description of the Aetolian land to the story of the Aetolian people. The history of Greek military engineering has never yet been seriously attempted; and the history of the Aetolian League requires to be re-written. 'These things lie upon the knees of the gods': their accomplishment is perhaps reserved for others, better equipped and qualified for the task. It is at any rate high time to have done with those hap-hazard and thoroughly unscientific generalities which pass muster as descriptions of Hellenic ruins. What is required in order to satisfy the demand for actuality and contact with life in classical studies is that the Hellenic kástra should all be minutely and lovingly investigated and drawn on a large scale by men thoroughly equipped for the work and trained to interpret the historical story told by the mute eloquence of the stones. This task, if undertaken at all, must be undertaken without delay, as each day sees the process of destruction more advanced.

My best thanks are due to the Delegates of the University Press for accepting my work. To two of their number a more special debt of acknowledgement must be paid. The Vice-Chancellor, the Rev. J. R. Magrath, D.D.,

Provost of Queen's College, has been indefatigable in watching over the practical details of the publication: it is largely the result of his warm patronage that the book sees the light in its present form. Mr. D. B. Monro, Provost of Oriel, has shown unwearied kindness in revising my MS. Scarcely a page but bears the traces of his ripe literary experience,—'cerulas enim tuas miniatas illas extimescebam.' I must thank the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies for a generous Grant towards defraying the cost of Illustrations, and the Oxford Craven Committee for similar aid. Mr. and Mrs. Gordon-Oswald of Aigas have also a great claim upon my gratitude. Nor may I omit the name of the Rev. H. F. Tozer, whose interest in my work as Craven Fellow has fanned an enthusiasm kindled by his own writings. My many Greek friends also claim the tribute of remembrance here. The name of almost every village in Aetolia recalls hospitality and kindly service rendered by Demarch, priest, agoghiat, shepherd, and soldier, many of whom now lie on the slopes of Mount Othrys,—

τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν, περὶ ᾗ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον.

Finally, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the skilful labours of the staff of the Clarendon Press.

W. J. W.

SEDBERGH,
YORKSHIRE:
1897.

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GENERAL MAP OF AETOLIA
Kilometres
GULF OF ARTA
LAKE OF AMBRACIA
Lake of the Apokhoro
LAKE MELITE
LAGOON OF PROKOPANISTO
MESOLONGHI
ORINTHIAN GULF
Long East of Paris

GEOGRAPHY

Ἵνα δὲ μὴ τῶν τόπων ἀγνοουμένων ἀνυπότακτα καὶ κωφὰ γίνηται τὰ λεγόμενα, συνυποδεικτέον ἂν εἴη τὴν φύσιν καὶ τάξιν αὐτῶν, ὃ δὴ καὶ παρ' ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν πειρώμεθα ποιεῖν. Pol. v. 21.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

There is a striking contrast between the two shores of the Corinthian Gulf. The characteristic feature of Achaia[1] is the belt of fertile land that falls from the mountains to the sea in a double terrace of varying breadth. The outermost terrace is a narrow irregular fringe, deposited by the numerous torrents which rush down in short courses at right angles to the coast-line and carve into cliffs and platforms the intervening hills of marl. Behind the marl, which constitutes the second tier, rise mountains of conglomerate. These gradually approach the Gulf as we advance westwards, and the marl formation is proportionately reduced in width, until at last the conglomerate rudely bursts through it to the sea.

How different the northern shore! From the white summits of Parnassos in the east, we behold nothing but mountains stretching westwards until they end opposite Patras in the two bold rocks of Klókova and Varássova. Far into the interior of Aetolia the picture is the same,—that of a vast complex of mountains, in which here and there a glistening peak stands out carrying its burden of snow long after winter has fled from the lowlands. And on this coast the hills, almost entirely composed of limestone, rise straight from the water. Denudation has long ago deprived them of their earthy covering, which, however, has been too scanty to form a continuous strip of flat land along the sea.

The immediate consequences are obvious. From Corinth to Patras we journey as through a garden, passing in quick succession village and town surrounded by the most luxuriant vegetation. Every species of fruit-tree known to

[1] See Philippson, *Der Peloponnes*, i. 136–155; especially p. 150.

Greece flourishes there in profusion, and the graceful poplar and the dark beauty of the cypress give to the landscape that charm which is sadly wanting to so much Greek scenery. On the opposite coast we are confronted by an arid waste of mountain-land, apparently almost without inhabitant. Here and there, as we round a rocky headland, we see a village on the slopes. Only where the Mórnos has deposited the spoils brought from the interior do we find any considerable space between the mountains and the sea; and there is Naupaktos, the only large town between Galaxídhi and Mesolónghi.

As we contemplate the contrasting pictures what a flood of light is shed upon the pages of history! There, on the right hand and the left, are outspread in mountain and plain the causes that determined the broad lines of historical development on the two shores of the Gulf. Perhaps in none better than in the history of ancient Greece is the influence of geographical conditions realized. There had not yet arisen that extreme complexity in national and civic relations which tends partly to obscure, and partly to substitute itself for and to oppose, the external influences summed up in the word 'geography.' History is there seen reduced almost to its simplest elements, and we can estimate with some accuracy the value of each factor of the product.

With no wavering finger has Nature traced the boundaries of Aetolia. On the west the broad white bed of the Aspropótamos, the Acheloos of ancient Greece, cleaves a line of demarcation from north to south, from Epiros to the Ionian sea[1]. On the east the range of Pindos runs down from Macedonia along the frontier of Thessaly from north-west to south-east. Typhrestos, towering at the head of the Spercheios valley, stands sentinel on the threshold of North Aetolia. The Oxyá hills[2] prolong the line towards the

[1] By some the Corinthian Gulf was considered to begin from the mouth of the Acheloos. Cf. Strabo, p. 335: Ὁ δὲ Κορινθιακὸς κόλπος ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Εὐήνου, τινὲς δέ φασιν τοῦ Ἀχελῴου, καὶ τοῦ Ἀράξου. See also *id.* p. 336; and p. 450: Τὸ Αἰτωλικὸν κλύζεται τῇ ποιούσῃ θαλάττῃ τὸν Κορινθιακὸν κόλπον, εἰς ὃν καὶ ὁ Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς ἐξίησιν.

[2] Ὀξυά, Ὀξυαίς; from the beech-trees (ὀξύαι) which grow upon it. Leake (N. G. ii. 18) calls the range Oxiés.

south-east, to Vardhúsi and Kióna[1], loftiest of all the mountains of Greece. Then, south of the river Mórnos, Tríkorpho and Vígla[2], sinking slowly down to the Gulf, complete the long chain that shuts off Aetolia from her eastern neighbours.

The space enclosed within these frontiers is roughly triangular: the coast line forms the base, and the apex falls in the northern part of the canton of Ágrapha. The structure of the area proves on examination to be much more simple and regular than we should expect. North and South Aetolia are in fact distinguished from each other in a well-marked and unmistakable way. The natural lines in South Aetolia run east and west, while those of North Aetolia run north and south. The dividing line falls a little more than half-way between the base and apex of the triangle; that is to say, between the coast-line and Ágrapha. It coincides, therefore, with the course of the Agalianós river, which rises in the Oxyá hills and flows westwards to the Acheloos.

Looking first at the southern division, we notice at once the river Phídharis which in a rough way bisects it diagonally. The course of the river falls into three strongly marked and nearly equal sections. Rising almost upon the eastern verge of Aetolia, it flows first towards the west, gradually trending away to the south-west, until it turns suddenly due south. In this direction, cleaving the very centre of Aetolia, it flows for again nearly a third of its course. A second turning-point, almost as sharp as the first, marks the resumption of its former direction, i. e. towards the south-west, until it falls into the sea at a point roughly midway between the mouths of the Áspro and the Mórnos.

The Mórnos, the third large stream of Southern Aetolia[3], resembles the Phídharis in its zig-zag course. It rises

[1] Few Proper names are written in so many ways in books of Greek travel as Kióna. The French map calls the mountain Guiona. Ulrichs writes the name Jona. The variety seems to arise from the attempt to reproduce the popular pronunciation, Γκιώνα. Those are wrong who write Khiona or Chiona, as though the word were connected with χιών, 'snow'; See Becker, *Diss.* iii. p. 5, and *note* 14.

[2] Τρίκορφος (fr. κορυφή). Cf. Τρεῖς κεφαλαὶ in Mount Kithairon: Corfu, (='s τοὺς κορφούς). Βίγλα = Watch-tower.

[3] The other two are, of course, the Áspro and the Phídharis.

between Vardhúsi and Kióna, and flows due south for about one third of its total length; then with a sharp bend it runs to the south-west, only to turn a second time and to resume its former line of direction, thus finally reaching the Corinthian Gulf on the east of Naupaktos. The upper Mórnos[1], therefore, is parallel to the central section of the Phídharis; and the upper Phídharis to the central section of the Mórnos. Thus the two rivers enclose a quadrangular space, of which the boundaries on north and west are formed by the Phídharis, and those on east and south by the Mórnos. Within this space the eye searches in vain for a level spot: it is the rude district of Krávari.

Let us now look at the coast-line. It would form a long irregular level strip, extending from the mouth of the Áspro to that of the Mórnos, were it not for those two striking precipices which tower from the sea over against Patras. On the east Mount Klókova has a height of 1041 mètres; on the west Mount Varássova rises 917 mètres sheer from the Gulf. These two rocks, separated from each other by the vale of Gavrolímni, form two short ridges running from north to south between the Phídharis and the sea, isolated masses of limestone that sever the Venetikó from the district of Mesolónghi. A rough hill country of sandstone formation extends from them north-eastwards to the great pyramid of Mount Rhígani which overshadows Naupaktos. Towards the sea the interval between Klókova and Rhígani is occupied by a narrow strip of level fertile land which runs out in the long point of Antirrhion opposite the similar cape of Rhion on the Achaian side of the Gulf.

Disregarding the projection of Rhígani and the twin rocks of Varássova and Klókova, the first zone of Aetolia may be described as a narrow plain, never more than four miles wide, and generally very much less, almost wholly formed by fluviatile deposits; and, therefore, widening towards the west, in correspondence with the superiority in size of the Áspro over the Phídharis, and of the latter river over the Mórnos. East of the Mórnos estuary the fertile strip ceases altogether, and the mountains come quite down to the sea until we reach the gulf of Sálona, where the Pleistos and the streams of Amphissa have created the rich

[1] Or that part of it which is called the Méga. See p. 42.

plain that belonged in ancient times to Kirrha and Krissa. The belt of flat land along the Aetolian sea-board lies nearly east and west; but from Mesolónghi it naturally runs northwards along the Acheloos until it is stopped by the spurs of the Zygós abutting upon the river.

A second zone is formed by the Zygós range itself, extending from the Áspro to the lower angle of the Phídharis. It does not stop there: the line sweeps upwards to Vardhúsi in the north-east through the heart of Krávari, forming the mountains known as Makrývoros, Papadhiá, Trítzovon, and Vlachovúno,—in that order, enumerating them from west to east. The Mórnos flows along their southern foot, in the narrow valley between them and the mountains Tríkorpho and Vígla on the left bank of the stream.

Crossing the Zygós we descend into a third zone, the central plain of Aetolia, in which lie the two lakes. This plain stretches from beyond the Acheloos almost as far as the Phídharis, but a series of hills separates it from the latter river. On the left bank of the Phídharis, however, the configuration is the same, the vale of the Kákavos corresponding to the central basin.

North of the Kákavos we have again a mountain zone, the range of Plátanos,—Mounts Ardhíni and Trékuri. Along the northern foot of these hills flows the upper Phídharis.

Finally, from the Acheloos right across to the Oxyá range on the eastern confines of Aetolia there runs the great watershed of Kútupas and Araboképhalon.

Southern Aetolia, therefore, falls into a system of parallel lines, alternate mountain-ridge and valley, bisected by the Phídharis. On the western side of the river the direction of the lines is east and west: on its eastern side they have an upward tendency towards the north-east. Another point to be noticed is that, in addition to being roughly parallel, the ridges rise in tiers, their altitude gradually increasing as we move northwards from the coast. Klókova is 1041 mètres above the sea level; Rhígani 1475 mètres, Tríkorpho 1552 mètres. In the second zone we have Papadhiá, 1714 mètres, and Trítzovon, 1736 mètres. In the third, Trékuri rises to 1787 mètres. The loftiest summits of Araboképhalon tower to a height of 1823 mètres and 1927 mètres. Behind Araboképhalon, Chelidhóni reaches an altitude of 1980

mètres, and Kaliakúdha of 2104 mètres. Velúchi, the most northerly, is also the highest point, 2318 mètres above the sea.

It remains for us to clothe with more detail this skeleton of the territory under examination. It is clear that we have already in our hands the clue to an orderly and natural arrangement of parts; that the structure of the country itself compels the recognition of at least four subdivisions:—

I. The coast region south of the Zygós, between the Áspro and the Phídharis, together with the central basin. The similarity in their structure, and the real physical connexion which exists between them, justifies the union of the maritime and inland plains under one head. Historically also this union, partially at least, prevailed; for the western division of the central basin, together with the plains by the sea, constituted the section known as Old, as distinguished from Epiktetos, Aetolia.

II. The central watershed.

III. The river-system of Ágrapha.

IV. Eastern Aetolia, i.e. the canton of Krávari, and the basins of the Phídharis and the Mórnos.

CHAPTER II.

The Aetolian Plains.

Approaching Aetolia from the sea we have under our eyes the whole extent of the country between the Áspro and the Phídharis. The bare rampart of the Zygós limits the view towards the north. On the east the promontory of Varássova marks the mouth of the Phídharis. In the west rise the hills of Akarnania and the blue outlines of Kephallenia. Immediately before us there is a complex system of lagoons, on the edge of which, four miles away, we distinguish Mesolónghi[1], a name of deathless fame in modern Greek history. To the right and left stretches a narrow broken band of low ground, the 'thread[2]' that separates the lagoons from the sea. The lagoons are so shallow that only boats of the lightest draught[3] can cross them, guiding their course by the piles driven at intervals into the bottom. This was once the only means of reaching Mesolónghi from this side; but now the embanked causeway which extends right across the lagoon allows direct communication between the steamer and the town.

In shape the lagoon[4] is roughly an equilateral triangle, with a base of about eighteen miles[5], and a height of about twelve[6]. Mesolónghi, the most important town in modern Aetolia, the capital of Aetolia and Akarnania, which together form a single Nómos, stands near the middle point of its

[1] Μεσολόγγι, Μεσολόγγιον. [2] Τὸ Ῥάμμα.

[3] The 'monoxyla,' as they are called.

[4] For a description of the lagoon and the town, see also Trikúpis, Ἱστορία. ii. 361. Reference should be made to the chart on p. 166.

[5] Between the mouth of the Phídharis and Skrópha Point.

[6] From Hághios Sóstis to the head of the inlet, above Aetolikón.

eastern side. The name of the town [1] is evidently descriptive of its situation in the midst of the Λόγγος, or 'waste of wood and marsh,' which seems to have covered much of Southern Aetolia after its depopulation by the Romans [2]. Mesolónghi in these days makes a very different figure from that painted in earlier accounts, or even in those of quite recent date. Seventy years ago Lord Byron wrote [3]:—'If we are not taken off with the sword, we are like to march off with an ague in this mud-basket; and to conclude with a very bad pun, to the ear rather than to the eye, better *martially*, than *marsh-ally*;—the situation of Missolonghi is not unknown to you. The dykes of Holland when broken down are the deserts of Arabia for dryness, in comparison.' Now, instead of the wretched lanes and miserable houses [4] that we expect, we find good streets and excellent buildings both public and private. A long and well-built road has been constructed out into the lagoon, serving as an admirable promenade, but otherwise at present of uncertain utility. It is true that the smell of the almost stagnant water strikes the visitor as a disagreeable accompaniment [5], but the native assures him that it is harmless. Certainly Mesolónghi is not the fever-hole that one would be inclined to imagine; although the plain between the Phídharis and the Áspro is extremely unhealthy, the site of the town itself is universally admitted to be an exception.

Mesolónghi is a quite modern town. Its glory is not inherited from a shadowy antiquity; the generation that gave it fame has not yet entirely disappeared. On the north-east of the town is the Heróon, a garden which forms the last resting-place of those who fell in the 'most glorious of all combats, that for their country.' The statue of Byron stands

[1] Leake, N. G. i. 113. Meletios, *Geogr.* ii. 306, says: Μεσολόγγι, ἢ κρεῖττον Μεσολάγιον.

[2] Cf. Strabo, p. 388: καὶ ἡ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων ἐρημία κ.τ.λ.

[3] Feb. 5, 1824. See *The Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*, Thomas Moore, p. 999.

[4] Cf. Pomardi, *Viaggio nella Grecia*, p. 34: 'Le strade sono angustissime, non avendo più di otto palmi di larghezza, e sono solo lastricate in mezzo con pietre mal connesse.... Le case sono basse, e sovente fabbricate con pietre senza calce.'

[5] An evil of old standing. In 1766 Chandler complains: 'In the evening the air stunk abominably; and frogs croaked in chorus without ceasing.' *Travels*. p. 280. He calls the towns Messa-longia and Nathaligo.

by the tomb of Márkos Bótzaris, who was brought from his last field under the shadow of Mount Typhrestos to lie among his fellow heroes. A large tumulus close at hand covers the remains of the unnamed defenders of the town. A few steps away a simple mound is pointed out with a still lingering reverence as the tomb of Byron[1], and scattered under the trees are the graves of many others who played a notable part in the Revolution. As we leave the pleasant shade of the Heróon we feel that Greece has done well to dedicate to her Liberators the soil that drank most deeply of the blood of them and their foes: for the 'Field of Heroes' is on the line of those famous ramparts which were defended with such brilliant desperation. We may still gaze upon the fosse half-choked with rubbish or filled with green ooze and stagnant water, but the ramparts themselves have almost entirely disappeared: it would have been a miracle had they survived. At one point, however, near the road to Aetolikó, in a line with the outer wall of the Heróon, a few yards of earthwork faced with stone still stand, a relic of the defences that baffled the best troops of Turkey and Egypt[2].

From Mesolónghi a long narrow gulf, almost equal in length to the outer lagoon, runs northwards into the interior. About half-way up, six miles north-west of Mesolónghi, lies Anatolikón, or Aetolikón[3], in the mid-channel of the lagoon, which at that point is about a mile in width. A spit of land which runs out into the gulf from its eastern shore, less than half-way between Mesolónghi and Aetolikó, bears the salt-pans of Alikí; north of them Aetolikó gives its own name to the lagoon. The town was formerly to be approached from either shore by boat alone, but now fine stone bridges and causeways connect the island with the mainland on the east

[1] But it is a debatable question. Cf. Gordon, *Hist.* ii. 117.

[2] For an account of the sieges of Mesolónghi consult Finlay, *Hist. of Gr. Rev.* i. 336; ii. 83: Gordon, *do.* i. 458; ii. 229: Trikúpis, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως*, ii. 361; iii. 279. A plan of the fortifications is given by Prokesch-Osten, *Geschichte des Abfalls der Griechen.* vols. i. and ii.

[3] *Ἀνατολικόν, Αἰτωλικόν.* See Meletios, *Geogr.* ii. 306: *Αἰτωλικόν, ἢ κοινότερον Ἀνατολικόν, ὅπου πρὸ ὀλίγου χρόνου ἐξήρχετο ἐκ τῆς Γῆς ἀνακαχλάζον αἷμα, καὶ ἐγειρόμενον πολλῇ βίᾳ πλεῖον μιᾶς πήχεως!* In the popular pronunciation the name of the town becomes Natolikó. Population 5000.

and west. The energy which created these bade fair at one time to raise Aetolikó to a position above that of the capital of the Nome itself; but its site renders the extension of the town impossible, and the debts incurred owing to a too rapid development seem to have permanently crippled its growth. Consequently, although the streets and buildings of Aetolikó once contrasted favourably with those of Mesolónghi, this is no longer the case.

There is a wide difference between the plain along the coast and that around Aetolikó. From the Phídharis to Mesolónghi the greater part of the interval between the sea and the Zygós is little better than a marsh, covered with reeds which almost conceal the villages from sight. Only as we approach Mesolónghi does this wilderness give place to thriving vineyards and currant-grounds[1]. On the north of the town, going towards Aetolikó, we pass through the same uncultivated waste until we reach the more solid ground at the foot of the Zygós, where we again find the currants and grapes of Mesolónghi. It is clear, however, that the soil itself is not to blame for the partial character of the cultivation in this region; the luxuriance of the natural growth testifies to its fertility. Want of capital and paucity of population are the two causes that lie at the root of the evil. There is abundant evidence that in Turkish times, to go no farther back, there existed a far more numerous population than at the present day, both here and in many another spot in Greece; but the effect of the War of Liberation, from the first one of extermination, has been to depopulate the country to such an extent that large tracts have fallen out of cultivation. Nowhere is this more painfully evident than in the plains of Lower Aetolia, where thousands of acres of land admirably adapted for the raising of grain, and gifted by Nature herself with the most convenient means of transport, lie a wilderness without even a single head of live stock upon them. In the territory of Aetolikó, that is to say on both sides of its lagoon, much has been done to repair the evil; large quantities of currants are grown, but the staple product

[1] On the east Mesolónghi is surrounded by gardens. The plain to the north appears to have been planted with olive-trees; they were all cut down during the siege, and have never been replaced, except to the east of the town, and near the Zygós. See Fiedler, *Reise.* i. 158.

is the olive. The groves and vineyards of Aetolikó show what could be achieved if the conditions were more favourable to the extension of agriculture; but private credit feels the blighting effect of national bankruptcy, and the system of land tenure is not adapted for the encouragement of individual enterprise.

Opposite Aetolikó the western end of the Zygós begins to approach the eastern shore of the gulf; a short distance farther north a narrow passage only is left between the bare rocky foot-hills of the range and the reed-covered edge of the lagoon. Just in the pass are the abundant springs (Kephalóvryson), between which and Aetolikón there is a constant stream of animals and carts; for this is the only good water in the vicinity. Beyond the springs the plain again widens, and forms a large bay towards the east.

A conspicuous feature of the Zygós, where it abuts upon the lagoon, is the multitude of huge fissures in the mountain. Of these, the most remarkable, and the most curious natural feature to be found in Aetolia, is the cleft opening upon the north-eastern corner of the plain, above the Kephalóvryson. This is the Kleisúra[1]. Its general direction is from north to south, and it constitutes a natural line of division between the Lower and Upper Zygós[2]. The latter is that part of the range which rises above Mesolónghi and stretches eastwards as far as the Phídharis. The Lower Zygós runs west from the Kleisúra towards the Áspro, thus enclosing the head of the Aetolikó lagoon. Extending some way southwards along the western shore of the lagoon there is a succession of irregular hills of no great elevation[3]. Among them the rocky cone of Hághios Elías is conspicuous from every point in the district. At the end of these ramifications of the Zygós, and exactly opposite the town of Aetolikó, the well-wooded hill Katsá rises from the midst of the olive groves.

The space between the aforesaid hills and the Acheloos is occupied by the plains of Neochóri, Guriá, Mástru, and Magúla,—the four villages that constitute the modern Deme Paracheloïtis. These plains extend southwards along

[1] Ἡ Κλεισοῦρα.

[2] Κάτω-Ζυγός. Ἀπάνω-Ζυγός. Cf. Leake, N. G. iii. 552.

[3] Geologically these hills do not form part of the Zygós. See Map II.

the left bank of the Acheloos, their width gradually increasing, so that, after passing the end of the Katsá ridge, they entirely take up the interval between the Mesolónghi lagoons and the lower reaches of the Acheloos. The general character of the expanse resembles that of the plain on the east of the lagoons. There is the same evidence of fertility, the same lamentable backwardness in the system of agriculture, the same merely partial application of labour and capital to the soil. One remarkable physical feature distinguishes the western from the eastern plain. On the former, rocky heights rise here and there from the waste, like the bare islets that dot the Aegean. The material of which they are composed has nothing in common with the soil at their base; for the plain consists of a rich yellow clay, unmixed with stones, and in summer reduced to fine powder by the sun. As we look over it from the summit of one of the island-hills it is impossible to resist the conclusion that this plain, like that of Egypt, is the gift of the river, an accretion of the deposits of the Acheloos round the rocky islets at its mouth. In winter the primitive aspect of the scene is to some extent reproduced, when the swollen river rises above its banks, and spreading over the plain once more swirls round the craggy feet of the hills.

The pass of the Kleisúra[1] forms a natural road through the Zygós into the centre of Aetolia. The beauty of the defile could scarcely be exaggerated. The mountain is riven to its base, and the Upper and Lower Zygós are torn asunder, so as to leave a road between them. We advance from Aetolikó towards the pass as towards a giant gateway leading into the heart of the hills. On either hand the sides of the fissure run up in perpendicular walls, the ledges of which are covered with trees and shrubs. Half-way through the pass the road seems barred, when suddenly it opens in a direction almost at right angles to that in which we have been moving; then, passing under the now deserted but once very necessary guard-house at the northern entrance, it issues among the woods which cover the slopes of the Zygós on this side.

There is a remarkable contrast between the southern and

[1] Fiedler describes it, *Reise.* i. 177. Pouqueville's description is a fine example of his method.



THE KLEISURA: LOOKING NORTH.

northern faces of the range. On the former we found only bare steep slopes and grey limestone crags with a scanty covering of stunted bushes[1]. How different the picture here! Forests of chestnut trees and of oaks, gorges choked with vegetation,—the silvan beauties of this landscape have nothing in common with the weary monotony of the view to the south of the mountain. Villages are descried on every side, perched high on the slopes, or straggling along the ravines, or nestling among the woods at the foot of the hills. The plain into which we gradually descend displays the same contrast; for it also is well wooded, at least near the Zygós. On its northern edge, beyond the two lakes, the eye rests upon the green hills above Agrinion, leading up, towards the right, to the mass of Mount Viéna.

Of the two Aetolian lakes lying below us in the plain, the largest and most easterly is that of the Apókuro, called also the lake of Vrachóri or Agrinion,—the ancient Lake Trichonis. It is a splendid sheet of water, forming a crescent along the Zygós, twelve miles in length and three in breadth. At its eastern extremity, where the mountains round Petrochóri fall almost sheer into the water, its depth is popularly believed to be unfathomable. Even in the calmest days the lake dashes upon the rocks with the fury of a miniature sea, and for this reason, perhaps, it has gained the name Πέλαγος. Fish in great numbers and of many kinds[2] are found in it, but few are caught. It is the rarest of all sights to see upon its broad bosom anything in the shape of a boat; only at Kainúrio on its northern shore can a ferryman with difficulty be found.

The lake of Anghelókastron, or, as it is often called, the lake of Zygós[3], has a circumference about one fourth of that of Vrachóri, and its shores are almost entirely marshy; for, while the lake of Vrachóri occupies almost the entire space between Mount Viéna and the Zygós, that of

[1] That is the character of the limestone mass, north of Mesolonghi, which forms the western end of the mountain; further east, in the direction of the Phídharis, where we are again upon the sandstone, there is the same aridity and nakedness, perhaps due to the salt breezes from the sea.

[2] Strosídhia, Glanídhia, Dhromítsais, Tserúchlais, Chélia, Kephaliká, Theringhia, Búlkais, are a few of them.

[3] For the genesis of the names 'lake of the Apókuro,' 'lake of Zygós,' see p. 228.

Anghelókastron has no high ground near it, except the spurs of the *Zygós* on its southern shore. Consequently, the western lake makes a very poor appearance as compared with its neighbour on the east.

In order to reach Agrinion from the Kleisúra we have a choice of routes. We may turn to the west and make the circuit of the lake of Anghelókastron, or we may go eastwards round the lake of the Apókuro. The third and most direct route lies across the morass that intervenes between the two sheets of water. Some two centuries ago the modern main road was anticipated by a certain Ali, Bey of Vrachóri, who built the old causeway[1] which extends two thousand yards across the treacherous marsh a short distance east of the present highway. If we are to believe Pouqueville and Leake, the Turkish engineer made use of the foundations of an earlier structure, dating perhaps from Roman times. This is not impossible: but none of the earlier work is now visible. Not only the foundations, but to a great extent the Turkish piers themselves have settled in the bog until the water reaches the keystone of the arches. Nor, again, do there remain any traces of the rings for mooring the barges engaged in the commerce of the villages round the lake that are mentioned by Pouqueville[2]. The number of arches in the causeway is supposed to be three hundred and sixty-six. Though the old viaduct is now used only as a short cut, and is allowed to fall year by year into ever worse repair, it is a pleasant and worthy continuation of the Kleisúra. We ride through the cool shade of oaks, planes, and wild olives, which are festooned with wild vines and creepers, and blocked with tall reeds so as to make an impenetrable jungle. The songs of birds add that charm which is so often painfully wanting in the Greek woodlands. A gentle stream flows through the arches from the eastern into the western lake, and finally into the Acheloos near Anghelókastron.

In one hour from the causeway of Alí-bey we reach the bed of the river or torrent Eremítsas[3], flowing from the Araboképhalon mountains in the north-east into the lake of Anghelókastron. From the Eremítsas it is one hour more to Vrachóri[4], officially called Agrinion, the second town

[1] Ἡ γέφυρα τοῦ Ἀλημπέη, or Ἀλάμπεη.
[2] *Voy.* iii. 515.
[3] Ὁ χείμαρρος Ἐρημήτσης. See p. 184.
[4] Βραχῶρι, Ἑβραιοχώριον.



AGRINION (VRACHORI); LOOKING SOUTH TO THE ZYGOS.

in Aetolia. The word Vrachóri seems to be a corruption of Hevraiochórion, the 'town of the Jews.' At the time of the Epanástasis there was a considerable Jewish colony here, which fared very badly[1].

Agrinion is a beautiful place. The site is well chosen, on the long slopes at the foot of the Lykorákia[2], the verdant 'Wolves' ridge' which stretches along the northern edge of the plain. It is thus sufficiently removed from the unhealthy atmosphere of the western lake and its attendant pests, yet not in so lofty a situation as to render communication with the plain difficult. The tobacco-fields, vineyards, and fruit-gardens, dispersed among the houses, give the place the appearance of a group of villages rather than of a town. Great improvements have been carried out in Vrachóri during the last few years, so that the guide-book description of its narrow ill-paved streets is no longer true. It is the present terminus of the Railway of North-West Greece[3], and numbers over seven thousand inhabitants. The only drawback under which it labours is the scarcity of water. To prevent the waste consequent upon employing the drinking-water for the purposes of irrigation, the idea has been entertained of supplying the gardens by means of a canal from the Acheloos, some six miles distant; but, the funds of the Deme having been expended in the construction of a useless and ugly Platía and on other improvements, this scheme remains still in abeyance.

The charm of Agrinion is certainly to some extent accidental and dependent upon the oasis-like character of its immediate surroundings. There is little to attract in the contemplation of the western section of the central Aetolian basin. North of the lake of Zygós the plain stretches to the hills beyond Stratos, for the most part a desolate and uncultivated waste. In the vicinity of the lake itself the country is a swamp, covered with reeds and the remnants of the vast forest that once flourished here. As we advance northwards the reeds and trees disappear, and we enter upon a bare expanse which, although one of the most fertile in Aetolia, lies but half-cultivated, like the plains of the Paracheloïtis. The five villages in this section contain an

[1] Cf. Finlay, i. 202.

[2] Λυκορράκια.

[3] Σιδηρόδρομος τῆς Βορειο-Δυτικῆς Ἑλλάδος.

aggregate population of less than two thousand souls. It was not always thus. Meletios, for example, in the seventeenth century, mentions one of these villages, Zapándion, two miles west of Agrinion, as being one of the most important places in Aetolia[1]. In the rising of 1821 the six hundred Turks inhabiting Zapándi maintained themselves for more than a month against great odds, but were finally overcome and put to the sword[2]. They have left their traces in the two ruined minarets that stand conspicuously on the outskirts of the village, the only examples now existing in Aetolia proper. When Bazin visited the site in 1860 he found only a mass of ruins, among which were a few wretched cabins[3]. In 1893 Zapándion once more exists, a village of three hundred inhabitants, much given to the cultivation of tobacco. The history of this place serves to call attention to the undoubted gradual increase in the population of Greece, but the upward tendency is hampered by the economic difficulties of the country.

The shores of the eastern lake present a different spectacle[4]. Numerous villages occupy the plateaux above the narrow but fruitful space on its borders, and the rich crops of maize and tobacco gladden the eye with their story of prosperity and comparative wealth. And the ruins bear witness to an equally flourishing state of things in ancient times: scarcely a village is found here to-day that does not mark the site of an Hellenic town. The road lately completed round the lake makes it easy to visit this most important part of Aetolia. Both for the archaeologist and for the ordinary tourist the circuit is one of supreme interest. The thriving and hospitable villages planted at moderate and regular distances solve the chief difficulty of Aetolian travel, and allow us without anxiety to dwell upon the natural beauties that surround us. Our road lies through maize-fields and vineyards, beyond which the lake glistens in the

[1] *Geogr.* ii. 306: Κωμοπόλεις Ζαπάντι, Βραχῶρι, Μεσολόγγι.

[2] Cf. Fin. i. 203. Gord. i. 261.

[3] *Mém.* p. 275.

[4] Cf. Oberhummer, who says the lake of Apókuro 'bietet durch seine von bewaldeten Bergen eingeschlossene Lage einen der landschaftlich interessantesten Teile Griechenlands, indem sich dort der Charakter unserer Hochlandseen mit dem Reiz südlicher Färbung und mittelländischer Vegetation vermischt.' *Jahresbericht der Geogr. Gesell. Mün.* 1885, *Heft* x.

distance, or over the rocky spurs which thrust themselves through the fertile belt into the blue waters. The prospect changes from hour to hour. Full of character and variety, the mountains give to every scene a background of which we never weary. Blessed as it is with a pure and healthy air, a fertile soil, a perennial water-supply, and fenced round with mountain barriers, we feel that this region three and twenty centuries ago must have been the real heart of the Aetolian land, and the home of its most powerful chieftains.

CHAPTER III.

The Great Watershed.

The beautiful grey pyramid of Mount Viéna[1], which is so conspicuous from every point in the central plain of Aetolia, warns us of the character of the region that lies to the north of Agrinion between the Áspro and the head waters of the Phídharis. It is one of the wildest in Aetolia. We bid adieu to the plains as soon as we enter it; for from Agrinion northwards, until we burst through the Pindos upon the valley of the Spercheios or the great level expanse of Thessaly, there is nothing that deserves to be called a plain. All is mountain, a bewildering and savage land of peaks and ravines that defy description. The roads are narrow and often dangerous tracks, along dizzy slopes above the gorges. The rains and snows of winter disintegrate the rocks, and when the grip of the frost is loosened landslips carry away or bury the path, and compel us to difficult détours. As we mount ever higher we turn to look upon the panorama of the central basin. The humps of Rhígani, Varássova, and Klókova, peep over the long green Zygós, and the dim blue forms of the Peloponnesian mountains rise on the southern horizon. The habitations and works of men are left behind; wandering Vláchi seem to be the only occupants of these wilds. Here and there only, at the bottom of some gorge, a few scattered houses are descried, as of men who have exiled themselves from the world to the recesses of the mountains. Such are the villages of Streganiá and Lambíri[2], which, buried among the masses of the Arabo-képhala[3], we pass on our way to the north. It is with

[1] *Βηένα*, a contraction from (*Κυρία*) *Εὐγένεια*. See Leake, N. G. i. 131.

[2] *Στρηγανιά. Λαμπίριον.* [3] *Ἀραβοκέφαλον*, *Ἀραβοκέφαλα*=Negro-heads.

a feeling of relief that, having crossed the water-parting, we look down at last upon a large village lying on the western slope of the valley before us. This is the village of Prossós[1]; it contains about twelve hundred inhabitants.

The houses rise in terraces above the torrent to which the village gives its own name. Vines, maize, walnut and mulberry trees, grow in rich profusion about them. It takes us half an hour to thread our way among the terraces to the pass at the opposite end of the valley, where at the foot of great precipices we see the famous monastery of Our Lady of Prossós[2]. It is disappointing to find that the monastery has so modern and poor an appearance. The foundation dates from the ninth century; but the ancient buildings were fired by the Turks, and with them perished the manuscripts and Deeds of the monastery. The Panaghía, who has wrought many other miracles at this favourite shrine, preserved from the infidel flames the inner and most holy portion of the church. The sacred edifice, being really double, is built so close to the cliff that the small dark inner chapel, containing the ancient Eikón of the Virgin, is merely a cave in the rock; and when the body of the church in front perished this part remained intact, protected from the Turks by the flames which their own hands had kindled.

It is a privilege to be admitted to the cave in order to gaze upon this venerable Eikón, painted, we are assured, by Saint Luke himself. Brass and silver *repoussé* work conceal all the painting except the face and hands of the Mother and Child. It is dark with age, and is indeed in wonderful contrast with the Eikón of the outer church[3]. Tradition says that it was brought from Brusa, near Constantinople, whence came also the name of the village. The favour of the Virgin still attends the monastery. The monks, six or eight in number, point out a large hole in the rock above the church, and tell how a huge mass falling one day from it should, by all the laws of nature, have ground the building to powder, but leaped instead over the outer wall of the monastery and crashed into the torrent. The great annual Panégyris, or pilgrimage to the shrine, is attended by large crowds, in spite

[1] *Προσσός, Προυσός.* [2] *Τὸ μοναστῆρι τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Προσσοῦ.*

[3] As to the value of the picture as a specimen of Byzantine art I know nothing.

of the difficulty of reaching the place. And not seldom miraculous cure rewards the afflicted worshipper for the piety and faith that have brought him so far to kiss the holy Eikón.

When we mount to the path along the precipices above the monastery we realise the grandeur of the situation. A narrow paved track along the edge of the cliff, several hundred feet above the serpentine torrent of Prossós, is the only exit from the valley. At our feet, so close that it needs but a single step to hurl us into the court below, lies the monastery. The vale of Prossós, running into the bosom of Araboképhalon, constitutes the prospect towards the south and the quarter from which we have come. Northwards, we gaze along the course of the torrent to where the giant Kaliakûdha rises on its eastern bank, fronting the scarcely less huge Chelidhóni [1] on the west,—a mighty portal through which we pass to Karpenísion. Along the eastern side of the torrent rise precipitous slopes, similar to those on which we journey, but still in the shade long after the sun has flooded our own path with light. On the dangerous tracks that run like fine threads along these opposite slopes we see women creep slowly, tiny as ants, under a golden burden of grain from the scant patches that gild the mountain side: no horse could keep its footing on the perilous shingle.

At length the Prossós torrent which we are following joins the stream of Krikéllu coming from the east round the southern foot of Kaliakúdha. This warns us that we have reached the base of the great watershed of Aetolia: beyond this point the rivers and mountains run no longer from east to west, but from north to south.

If we look at the map we see that it indicates only five large villages on this watershed. Prossós is almost on the line bisecting the region from north to south. On the east, along the upper Phídharis, are the villages of Kóniska, Arách ova, and Klepá [2], of which only the first numbers over one thousand inhabitants. On the west of the central line the only considerable village is Hághios Vlásis [3], with less than one thousand inhabitants.

The eastern section does not differ in nature from Krávari,

[1] Καλιακοῦδα. Χελιδῶνι. [2] Κώνισκα. Ἀράχοβα. Κλεπᾶ.
[3] Ἅγιος Βλάσης, Ἁ. Βλάσσης.

which canton begins on the southern bank of the Phídharis. The villages named are all on the southern side of the ridge interposed between that river and the stream of Krikéllu; their connexion is naturally with the canton of Krávari rather than with the rude and unproductive region that lies to the north.

The western section, lying between Prossós and the Acheloos, bears an entirely different character, and one that has little in common with what we have hitherto seen. We remark in the first place that the range of Araboképhalon does not follow the direct line to the west, but breaks to the north and north-west, being continued in that direction by Plokopári, Kynigú, and Kútupas[1]. The striking serrate ridge formed by those three mountains is, in fact, the only natural feature of importance in the whole of this western district. The country is savage, but with a savagery very different from the grandeur of Prossós. The lofty peaks give place to a net-work of hills, for the most part of very moderate elevation. Even the vegetation is changed, and the heights are covered mostly with brushwood,—purnária, arbutus, and philýki[2], intermixed with bracken. We no longer toil along dangerous paths cut in the rock, but wind through a labyrinth of hills on crumbling tracks; we have in truth reached a different geological formation,—no longer hard limestone, but soft sandstone, which splits into regular cubes and finally crumbles to gravel. The bodily fatigue attendant upon travel in the eastern portion of the region is replaced by weariness of spirit; for the monotony of the hill-forms and their utter want of character make the road tedious. The prospect changes without real variation. Only along the banks of the rare streams can we find relief from the *ennui* of this desert: by no other word can this region be described, in spite of its green shrub-clad hills contrasting so strongly with the naked peaks of the limestone formation.

The sameness and meanness of the surroundings render more conspicuous the ridge of Kynigú and Kútupas in the centre of this sad region. This remarkable series of sharp

[1] Πλοκοπᾶρι. Κυνηγοῦ. Κούτουπας.

[2] Πουρνᾶρι, πρινᾶρι, πιρνᾶρι,—*Quercus coccifera*; of which there are several varieties. Κουμαριά, *Arbutus unedo*, L. Φιλύκη, *Phillyrea latifolia*, and *Ph. media*, L.

peaks, resembling the teeth of a huge saw, is visible for miles in any direction. Travelling along the high road by the shores of Lake Vrachóri, we catch a glimpse of it in the north beyond Mount Viéna; and it is not until we are buried in the heart of the mountains of Ágrapha that the familiar jagged line disappears from our southern horizon. On the western slopes of Kútupas, at an elevation of 883 mètres above the sea level, lies Hághios Vlásis, the capital of the Deme[1]. The majority of its nine hundred inhabitants live scattered in dependent hamlets, or Machaládhes. It would be difficult to find in Aetolia a site with a more splendid and extensive prospect. In the foreground are the low bushy hills, so characteristic of the district, among which we trace the course of the Acheloos for many miles from the north. Beyond them we have the panorama of the Akarnanian mountains purpled with the glory of the sun as he sinks to the Ionian sea. During the summer the principal families go down to the Acheloos, where, some three hours from Hághios Vlásis, are the hot springs of Kremastá[2]. The springs rise in the bed of the river itself, near both banks, and, as they are considered especially efficacious in cases of rheumatism, large numbers from all parts of Aetolia visit them annually. They contain iron and sulphur, like the hot springs near the village of Murstiánu[3], on the southern shore of the lake of Zygós. The visitors erect huts for themselves of branches and planks, and take with them provisions to last during their stay.

[1] *Τῶν Παρακαμπυλίων.*

[2] *'s τὰ Κρεμαστά.* For the meaning of the name see Leake, N. G. iv. 253: 'Not far below Tripótamo, the river is said to flow between precipices so closely approaching as to be crossed by a bridge of ropes, whence the place is called Sta Kremastá.'

[3] *Μουρστιάνου.* The accommodation at this place is of a more comfortable character, and a small village rises round the springs during the season (June and July). They lie exactly opposite Agrinion, about one hour and a half east of Anghelókastron.



GORGE OF THE ACHELOOS: LOOKING UP THE RIVER FROM THE BRIDGE OF TATARNA.

CHAPTER IV.

Agrapha[1].

Looking from some elevated point in the region just described, say from the peak above Hághios Vlásis, we see at once the structural contrast between the country on the south and that which remains to be surveyed on the north. To the south and east we trace the line of the central watershed, of which our standpoint is the last member to the west. Beyond it rises the Zygós, and beyond that are the mountains of Achaia. In the depressions lie the central plains of Aetolia, and the lowlands of the coast. All these features run from east to west, in lines nearly parallel to each other. Turning northwards we trace, on the extreme left, the great gorge of the Acheloos; and as our gaze travels slowly eastwards it rests in succession upon the mountain rampart of Pterí above Granítsa, the river and mountain-chain to both of which Ágrapha gives its name, the Mégdhova river[2] coming from the confines of Turkey, Chelidhóni and the mountains that lie between the Mégdhova and the Karpenisiotikós: lastly, Velúchi closes the view to the north-west. We have before us a river and mountain system of which the members run in practically parallel lines from north to south. The Agalianós[3] river at our feet, flowing from south-east to north-west, is the great base-line upon which these natural perpendiculars are raised. Were it not for the sudden break northwards made by the ridge of Kútupas, the course of the Agalianós would not have been compelled to

[1] Τὰ Ἄγραφα. [2] Μέγδοβας.

[3] Ἀγαλιανός. So called from the village of Agalianós, on its southern bank, nearly opposite the point at which it receives the waters of the Mégdhova.

that bend towards the north-west which mars the symmetry of the physical geography. A further significant relation between the mountains and the streams must be observed. Although it is sufficiently near the truth to speak of them as forming parallel lines from north to south, yet as a matter of fact the courses of the rivers are somewhat oblique to the mountain lines. The Agraphiotikós and the Mégdhova trend to the south-west, whereas the interposed ranges of Pterí and the Ágrapha mountains lie due north and south; and this fact has important bearings upon the character of the region[1].

As we study from our lofty standpoint the broad lines of the landscape, the eye anticipates much that we shall afterwards realize in travelling through the district. Rivers of large size for Greece, mountains overtopping any seen since we looked upon Vardhúsi, small and widely scattered villages, scanty evidences of cultivation,—all warn us that the difficulties thus far experienced are likely to re-appear in an aggravated form.

There are three routes by which we may penetrate this region from the south. We may follow the road by Hághios Vlásis on the west of Mount Kútupas, thus traversing the western sandstone belt. An alternative route is that which crosses the limestone Araboképhalon mountains, by way of Prossós. Or, if our point of departure lies in the east of Aetolia, we may keep to the eastern sandstone region, and by skirting the western side of the Oxyá range fall into the Karpenísi valley by way of Krikéllu. These three are the only routes leading northwards from Southern Aetolia; all others that may be indicated on the maps are either spurious variations, falling ultimately into one or other of the three main passes, or mere mountain tracks, impassible to a loaded animal, and so without any claim to be recognized as routes of communication.

Of the three routes, that by Hághios Vlásis is by far the easiest, but it is not the shortest line of communication between Central Aetolia and Karpenísi, the northern capital. The pass of Prossós, though by much the most difficult, is the direct route, and the artery of trade between North and South Aetolia, so far as trade can be said to exist. Goods

[1] As regards, for example, the means of communication.

landed at Mesolónghi and taken by rail to Agrinion, or brought by caravan from Karvassarás[1] on the Akarnanian coast to the same place, are transported thence by the mules of the Karanghúnidhes[2] of Stratos through the pass of Prossós in three days to Karpenísi. Commodities from the east are landed at Stylídha, the port of Lamia, and are carried without difficulty up the valley of the Spercheios, which extends to the confines of Aetolia. Beyond Karpenísi, to the north and north-west, there is nothing but the wildest mountain country, the passes of which are closed during the winter months.

In our survey of the central watershed we retraced our steps from the junction of the Prossós torrent with the river of Krikéllu. It is a remarkable point, a striking combination of mountain and river. The united streams flow in a north-westerly direction, round the base of the enormous mass of Kaliakúdha, until after a short distance they meet the river of Karpenísi pushing its way from the north-east between the same mountain and Chelidhóni. Mount Chelidhóni and the ridge along which we have travelled from the Prossós monastery are separated by a deep narrow gorge, through which the three streams roll towards the north-west. The confluence of the Karpenisiotikós with the combined Prossós and Krikéllu streams from the south takes place at the very mouth of the gorge, where it is spanned by a bridge, built in 1892 but swept away by the floods of the same winter[3].

The path from the bridge northwards is as wild and grand as that from the monastery. The Karpenísi river runs in a tortuous course far below us; Kaliakúdha and Chelidhóni thrust forward alternately a craggy foot to crush the stream, which writhes like a captive snake in its effort to be free. Farther along it seems as if the mightiest forces

[1] Καρβασσαρᾶς, derived from the Turkish 'Karavanserai.' It is the ancient Limnaia, at the southern end of the pass of Makrynóros, the Thermopylai of Western Greece.

[2] Καραγκούνιδες, 'Black Cloaks,' the name given to the Akarnanian Wallachians. See Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe*. p. 267.

[3] In 1893 it was in course of construction for the second time. Yet there are no engineering difficulties to be overcome, as the cliffs on each side serve as piers: it is simply a matter of workmanship. For the similar state of things in Turkey see Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of A. M.* p. 82.

of Nature had been called into action to rend a path for the torrent. Two tremendous red precipices formed by the two mountains approach each other so closely that originally room for the stream alone was left; but now a narrow path for horse and man has been hollowed along their sides. On each bank, at the narrowest point of the gorge, there stands a small shrine[1]. A short distance beyond this place the mountains again approach each other, and this time form a ravine impassible to all but the river itself. All exit from the valley is closed, except that by a path which climbs the steep spur of Chelidhóni. A painful effort of three quarters of an hour brings us to the top of the ridge, —our goal is in sight, for there, seven miles up the narrow valley to the north, Velúchi rears his bald head, and we descry the houses of Karpenísi[2] nestling at his foot. Our guides, as they reach the chapel on the ridge, cross themselves devoutly as if in gratitude for their escape from the long and dangerous pass.

From this point the road is easy; first to the 'Little village[3],' opposite which, on the other side of the river, the two hundred red-tiled roofs of the 'Great village[4]' contrast brilliantly with the dark forests of Kaliakúdha. Then we descend into the narrow valley down which flows the straggling Karpenísi river; the valley is in fact almost entirely converted into a channel for the stream by the network of canals that distribute the water among the maize-fields. The path is bad, of mud or cobbles, generally of the two combined, and along it we splash for nearly three hours towards the foot of Mount Typhrestos. On either hand, rounded thickly wooded hills confine the valley; they are ramifications of Kaliakúdha and Chelidhóni, ending towards Karpenísi,—on the east in Kóniska[5], with the village of Klavsíon at its foot; on the west in the hill and village of Koryschádhes. As we advance, the main peak of Velúchi gradually disappears behind the lower heights of the mountain, so that by the time Karpenísi is reached the

[1] Kónisma; that is, *εἰκώνισμα.*

[2] Βελούχι. *Καρπενήσιον.*

[3] Μικροχωριό, for Μικροχώριον.

[4] Μεγαλοχωριό, or Τρανοχῶρι. But Neumayr (*Denkschr.* xl.) is wrong in saying that in Aetolia *τράνος* is always used instead of *μεγάλος.*

[5] Κώνισκα, from its shape.



THE PASS OF PROSSOS; LOOKING NORTH UP THE KARPENISI RIVER.

summit is quite invisible. Hence Velúchi is somewhat disappointing. It is only from a comparatively great distance that the peak can be seen rising triumphantly over the excrescences at its base. As beheld in the early spring from the Maliac gulf, before the snows have melted, the mountain is a splendid object on the western horizon.

From the foot of Kóniska the valley runs up in a long slope towards Velúchi, and also extends, about a mile in width, eastwards until it ends at the ridge that connects Velúchi with Oxyá and Oita. At the corner, where the valley bends eastwards, a small conical height is left islanded to the south of the town; it is crowned with the church of Hághios Dhimítrios. The Karpenísi river follows the configuration of the valley, so that, after rising above the village of Láspi, it flows first to the west and then bends sharply to the south along the base of Kóniska. As we climb the aforesaid long slope we find ourselves scrambling over the dry stony bed of a torrent descending from the broken hills on the west, which bear the name Misorákia; this torrent unites with a second similar torrent of cobbles coming from the bosom of Velúchi itself and dividing the town in front of us. There is, in fact, no other entrance to Karpenísi from the south than that constituted by this dry gully, from which we emerge into the narrow, steep, rudely paved lanes of the town. The houses climb the hill on both sides of the torrent in irregular terraces. The tortuous main street, after crossing the torrent bed, issues on the eastern side of the town as a broad carriage-road[1], cut in the hill above the prolongation of the valley as already described. About half a mile from the town, owing to the gradual fall of the road and the steady eastward rise of the valley, we find ourselves actually crossing the level in a south-easterly direction.

Here, under the grey peak cut with the severe beauty of a Greek gem against the transparent blue, is held the great annual Panégyris[2] of Karpenísi, during the first three days

[1] Along which there is regular communication with Lamia and Stylídha, and so with Athens.

[2] Πανήγυρις ἐμπορική; as opposed to the Π. ἐκκλησιαστική, or religious gathering, such as that held annually at Prossós. Sometimes, in a very natural way, the Panégyris is a mixture of the two.

of August. About four thousand peasants and traders gather to it from Southern Aetolia, Ágrapha, and Thessaly, to traffic in butter, cheese, fleeces, and animals. Round the small church and spring of Hághios Nikólaos, booths, roofed and carpeted with fragrant juniper, are erected, and the barren plain for three days becomes a scene of bustle and gaiety. Carcases of sheep seem for ever to be turning on the long spits, roasting 'pallikár-fashion'; and the thin red native 'Sitló,' or the superior produce of Thessalian vineyards, is consumed in enormous quantities, yet scarcely ever to excess. A long street of sheds is put up by the Deme, and let to the shopkeepers of Karpenísi for the display of their goods,—dress stuffs and cheap jewellery, in which a great trade is done. A percentage on the value of the goods exposed for sale is paid as a tax to the Deme, and a rate is levied on the perishable articles according to kind and weight. The fair is, in fact, the chief source of revenue to the Deme of Karpenísi, but it seems to be losing its importance year by year. This must inevitably be the case: the slow but increasing improvement in the means of communication renders the interchange of commodities possible at all times, and does away with the necessity for the annual rendezvous. Hence the mercantile Panegýreis of Thessaly and Aetolia have lost much of their ancient glory. Those in the more distant regions, such as that of Tatárna, still retain their importance.

There is an interesting view from the site of the Panégyris. Behind us rises Mount Typhrestos, his summit often lost in eddying cloud-wreaths when the north wind rages upon it. In front of us, to the right, we see the indented ridge of Chelidhóni, to the left the pyramid of Kaliakúdha above the forest-clad heights of the middle distance. In the foreground lies the plain, arid, stony, and desolate, although it would repay cultivation. On the high ground at the foot of the town are the threshing-floors, a busy scene at the end of summer. Beyond them we trace the valley leading to Prossós. There, twenty minutes distant, at the corner where the plain and river turn southwards, among the trees at the base of Kóniska, is Kephalóvryson, the spot where fell Márkos Bótzaris, the bravest and best of the leaders of the Insurrection.



KARPENISI, WITH THE PEAK OF VELUCHI IN THE DISTANCE; FROM THE WEST.

It was in August, 1823[1], that Mustaïs, pacha of Skódra, was leading the Gheg[2] Albanians through Ágrapha to effect a junction before the walls of Mesolónghi with the Tosks[3] of Omér Vriónis. Mesolónghi was the only town in Western Greece that still held out; the Aetolian and Akarnanian chieftains were too busily occupied with their own quarrels to spare time for engaging the common enemy; the Ottoman fleet threatened the coast from Kandhíli to Naupaktos; the leaders in Ágrapha and on the Upper Acheloos had fled or submitted. All Western Hellas seemed lost. The Turkish advanced-guard commanded by Djelaleddin Bey, the nephew of Mustaïs, encamped four thousand strong round the spring at the foot of Kóniska. The three hundred and fifty Suliotes of Bótzaris had at last been joined by Karaïskákis, the Tsavéllai, and others, so that the united forces of the Greeks numbered about twelve hundred men. Márkos encamped in Mikrochorió, the other chiefs in Megalochorió on the left bank of the river. It was impossible to meet the Turks in the open field; it seemed likely that the national forces would after all disperse without a battle. Bótzaris succeeded in inspiring his companions with his own brave spirit, and a night attack was planned. Some of the Suliotes had entered the hostile camp and reported its disposition; being Albanians they were able to do this without fear of detection. Five hours after sunset Bótzaris was to attack from the valley, and the other leaders were to support him from the hills.

The Suliotes kept their word. A quarter of an hour after the appointed moment their war-cry startled the sleeping Ghegs: but their attack was unsupported. Envy and fear paralysed the arms of the Greek captains and their men, and only Kítsos Tsavéllas with his brother and a few others came down to share the peril and glory of Bótzaris. The heroic Suliote was wounded, but he pressed forward to the low wall surrounding the tents of Djelaleddin and his staff. The veteran Ghegs were as familiar as their enemies with nocturnal warfare, and were trained like them to fire with

[1] Cf. Fin. ii. 10. Gord. ii. 32. Trik. iii. 62. For an example of the transformation of history into childish fable, see Pouqueville, *Histoire de la Régénération de la Grèce*, iv. 5 fol.

[2] Γκέκαι. [3] Τόσκιδες.

deadly precision where any but Albanian eyes would have been at fault. The head of Bótzaris, raised rapidly above the wall to discover an entrance, was outlined for an instant against the dusky sky; a ball sped to his brain and he fell dead. As dawn approached, the Suliotes became aware of their loss. His cousin Athanásios Dúsas took the body of Márkos upon his shoulders, and with an immense booty of arms and horses the force retired unmolested to Mikrochorió. Thirty-six men were lost in the attack. The richly ornamented weapons won that night marked out for long afterwards the Suliotes who shared in the exploit at Karpenísi, but they felt that their splendour had been dearly purchased, and all Greece mourned the loss of the gallant Bótzaris. His body was brought down to Mesolónghi and buried in the Heróon, but it was not until quite recently[1] that a memorial was raised on the spot where he died. Tsavéllas, Karaïskákis, and the other Greek chiefs, attempted to hold the pass between Kaliakúdha and Chelidhóni, but they were defeated and driven from a position that five hundred resolute men could hold against the world.

It is worth the time to make the ascent of Velúchi for the purpose of gaining a clear idea of the geographical relationship between Aetolia and Thessaly. No other Aetolian mountain is so admirably adapted for the purpose, and perhaps none is so easy to climb. The path leaves the town by the eastern side of the gully which we have remarked as descending through its midst; then, following the aqueduct from the Roviá, we turn to the left at the head of that depression and reach a belt of firs, most of which have had their heads lopped by the shepherds. Above these comes a grassy but otherwise bare plateau, called Rovólakka, at the base of a steep stony hill bearing the appropriate name of Saïtáni[2]. Surmounting it we find ourselves looking down upon the plain on which the Panégyris is held; immediately before us is the narrow ridge called Samári, the 'saddle' between the révma Sóstrunka on the left and the terrible chasm on the right extending to the level of the plain. At the head of the chasm the wind thunders in the cliffs just under the summit of the mountain. These cliffs are called 's ta Ghídhia[3], as wild goats are occasionally found in them. The hill

[1] 1893. [2] Σαϊτᾶνι = Satan. [3] 's τὰ Γίδια.

beyond the saddle is extremely steep and stony; its summit is a level platform dotted with a few rocky knolls, under one of which a shepherd's enclosure provides the traveller with shelter for the night. The main summit of the mountain is then distant about an hour's climb. An intensely cold spring gushes forth close to the top. Greek springs are partial to these lofty situations, being often found on the mountain when the plain around is parched and dry. Peirene on the Akrokorinthos and Hippokrene in the bosom of Helikon are classical examples[1]. It is possible that a sudden change in the wind may enshroud the peak and these higher parts of the mountain in a dense fog, often lasting several days, and this, combined with the north wind rushing from the Thessalian plains, makes the situation anything but a pleasant one. The ascent may have to be made several times before the view of all the world, as the Karpenisiotes call it, can be obtained[2]. If the state of the atmosphere be favourable, the Aegean can be seen on the one side and the Adriatic on the other.

In the space between Velúchi and the Áspro there are only three villages of any importance,—Ágrapha, Kerásovon, and Granítsa. Kerásovon lies to the north-west of Karpenísi, at nearly the middle point of a line connecting Karpenísi with Granítsa. Ágrapha is almost due north of Kerásovon, so that the three towns are situated on the angles of a nearly equilateral triangle.

As regards position, Kerásovon[3] is the most important village of the triad, lying as it does on the southern face of a peak 1760 mètres high, the last member of the chain of mountains interposed between the Mégdhova river on the east and the Agraphiotikós on the west, and extending northwards beyond Ágrapha. This range is in fact to be regarded as the true continuation of the Pindos[4]. Kerásovon thus commands the defiles along the banks of the two rivers; in other words, the roads to the north, for in

[1] A spring rises on Mount Kióna, one hour from the summit.

[2] It is the general belief that the lights of Constantinople can be seen from the top. But this is said of any and every peak. The Plataniotes have the same fable of the hill above their village, though that is only 1400 mètres high!

[3] Κεράσοβον. [4] See p. 44.

this wild district the only practicable paths through the mountains are formed by the gorges of the streams. In addition to this, it lies upon the route that leads westwards from Karpenísi through Granítsa or Tatárna into Epiros or northern Akarnania. Yet, in spite of its advantageous position, no remains exist to indicate that an ancient town stood on the site; in fact, the present village itself seems comparatively modern. The hard white limestone of which the houses are built retains its freshness long after it is quarried, and gives to the place that cold, stony aspect so characteristic of the Greek mountain village when mulberry and plane trees are not present to soften or conceal the harshness and poverty of the architecture.

Granítsa[1] has a finer situation than any village in this part of Aetolia. It is placed high on a spur of the range of Pterí[2], that island mass of limestone which runs in a short straight line parallel to the Acheloos, completely dissevered from the surrounding offshoots of Pindos by the Acheloos itself and the rivers Plataniás and Agraphiotikós. The view from the village is entirely a southern one, over the hollow plain of Velaóra to the noble line of Akarnanian mountains rising from the gorge of the Acheloos.

From the moment that the traveller coming from Kerásovon first gazes upon the bare stony plain below him, to that in which he takes a farewell glance at it from the heights of Granítsa, the remarkable character of the depression of Velaóra never ceases to make itself felt. The hills on the east are of sandstone, from which there is a sudden drop to this plain composed of a hard limestone which wears to a smooth shining surface, as of polished steel, and 'eats the hoof' of his horse, as the peasant phrases it. The village, indeed, takes its name from the rock, which is known locally as Βελάορα[3]. Why this desert should ever have been chosen

[1] *Γρανίτσα.*

[2] *Πτερί.* Highest summits 2047 and 2132 mètres. The range is a mass of limestone interposed between upper and lower beds of sandstone (Macigno). The Aetolian Alps, the continuation of the Pindos chain, consist of limestone lying above the sandstone; the Gabrovó mountains, on the west of the Áspro, are limestone lying below the sandstone. The geological affinities of Mount Pterí are to be found in Vardhúsi, the west end of the Zygós, and the rocks of Klókova and Varássova. See p. 44.

[3] Cf. Heuzey, *Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, p. 231: 'c'est un calcaire



MONASTERY OF TATARNA; FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

for a dwelling-place, either in ancient or in modern times, is an interesting problem. The hamlets of Velaóra stand in the midst of the bare wilderness, depending for water upon a single well. Wine must be imported from Vrachóri; consequently, it is not to be had in summer, as the unstable Greek vintages spoil by carriage at that season. The vine is, in fact, a stranger to the entire district enclosed between the river of Ágrapha and the Acheloos, as far northwards as Thessaly, with the exception of the monastery of Tatárna in the apex of the triangle.

This monastery of Tatárna[1] rivals in fame that of Prossós, but in grandeur of situation it falls far short of the latter. Placed as it is, just within the angle formed by the confluence of the united streams of Agalianós and Ágrapha with the Áspro, much might be expected from the situation in the way of scenery, but the reality is disappointing. The shrub-clad hills that occupy the space south of Mount Pterí are scattered hap-hazard in bewildering disorder, and effectually destroy the prospect from the monastery by robbing it of breadth and grandeur. The only view of interest is that to the south, where the familiar jagged outline of the Hághios Vlásis mountains rises against the sky. Nor does the monastery itself possess any special features of attraction, as the present building is quite modern. In the garden on its northern side we may with difficulty trace the site of the older foundation, which fell a victim to Turkish firebrands in 1821. For the strategic value of the monastery is considerable, as it completely commands the western route from North to South Aetolia, as well as that which crosses North Aetolia from east to west. It is not without reason, therefore, that we find in its vicinity the remains of two of the strongest of Aetolian fortresses. And in the war with the Turks the value of the position was fully recognized[2]. The only antiquity possessed by the monks is a bell dated 1643, a relic of the old building. The books of the library were

solide, ressemblant au marbre commun dont est formé presque tout le sol de la Grèce; mais il lui manque la paillette et le grain serré du marbre: on dirait un marbre imparfait, qui n'a pu se cristalliser, comme un métal qui n'a pas reçu la trempe.'

[1] *Tarárva.* Leake calls it Tetárna.

[2] Thus Karaïskákis was accused of plotting to surrender Tatárna to the Turks. Cf. Trik. iii. 381.

hidden, so goes the tale, in a cave for security, but an earthquake or landslip overwhelmed it, and there they remain buried to this day; the exact location of the cave is a matter of dispute. Nevertheless, the monks, seven in number, live pleasantly enough without a library, as their vineyards produce perhaps the finest wine in Aetolia.

To the Greeks of this part of the country the name of Tatárna is chiefly associated with the great mercantile Panégyris held in the vicinity of the monastery. This Fair seems to be more largely attended than that of Karpenísi, or in fact any other in Northern Greece. The gathering takes place in a beautiful situation, two or three miles to the north of the monastery, on the left bank of the Acheloos, just at the point where the river, coming from the west, bends suddenly to the south, in which direction it continues to the sea. A level tract, called Magúla, stretches along the river and affords an admirable camping ground for the thousands that attend the Fair. The square open hearths bordered with stones cover the clearings among the shrubs, and give us an indication of the numbers that flock to the spot year by year. Just at this point the Acheloos issues from the gorges of Sivísta and his bed broadens. Below the cliffs at the eastern end of the ravine numerous springs pour a flood of water into the river and perceptibly increase its volume[1]. It is pretended that so great is the throng at the time of the Panégyris that the river barely suffices to supply the needs of men and animals, and that it would in fact fail entirely were it not for these springs.

Immediately above the springs the gorge is spanned by a narrow arched bridge, of which the keystone is more than sixty feet above the surface of the water. It is called the bridge of Tatárna[2]. It is a good example of the bridges found in this region upon the Acheloos and rivers of Ágrapha. They are generally built just where the banks of the river rise in precipices, from which the arch springs. Its height is of course determined by the width of the river. The bridge is in every case exceedingly narrow, only admitting the passage of one loaded animal at a time. A low

[1] Cf. Leake, N. G. iv. 270: 'Near it (Tatárna) the river Aspro is joined by a great subterraneous stream called Mardháka.'

[2] Τὸ γεφύρι τῆς Ταtάρνας.



THE BRIDGE OF TATARNA; FROM THE EAST.

parapet on each side scarcely seems to render it more safe,—indeed, when the wind blows strongly down the gorge the crossing is decidedly unpleasant; nor is it easy at the best of times, especially for animals, as they slip on the smoothly polished stones that pave the steep slope from the centre. Most of these bridges are of great age, but they are still as good as when first constructed, in spite of the fact that in these out-of-the-way corners of the kingdom little or nothing is done to keep them in repair. The contrast between these works and the puerile and pitiable constructions of the modern Greek engineers is instructive and typical. The bridge of Tatárna has gained some measure of local fame in connexion with the last outbreak of brigandage; from it one of the Akarnanian band was shot while in the act of fording the river[1].

Of these bridges, the finest specimen in Aetolia[2] is the bridge of Manólis[3], which dates from 1659. It is remarkable in three respects,—the width of the span, the height of the keystone above the river, and the steepness of the arch, consequent upon the fact that, contrary to the general rule, it does not spring from lofty banks, but from a level very little above that of the river bed itself. This bridge crosses the Agraphiotikós almost on a line with that of Tatárna over the Acheloos. This line, if produced to the north-east, strikes the river Mégdhova at a point immediately below Kerásovon, and at that point we find a third bridge. These three are, in fact, all upon the great route, or pack-road, that in ancient as in modern times led across Greece from Lamia by way of Karpenísi to Árta or Karvassarás on the north and south of the Ambrakian gulf. To the north of this route there is none other until we reach the bridge of Kórakos[4], which marks the point at which the roads

[1] In 1893.

[2] The finest in Greece is apparently the bridge of Kórakos, which is 'perhaps unrivalled in the hardihood and lightness of its structure,' according to Lieut.-Col. Baker. He gives the following measurements:—span, 132′; total length of roadway from rock to rock, 181′; width including parapet, 7′ 8″; roadway itself hardly 6′; height, 125′ (*Memoir on the Northern Frontier of Greece*, in the *Geographical Journal*, vii. 81 fol.).

[3] Ἡ *γέφυρα τοῦ* Μανώλη.

[4] Τὸ *γεφύρι τοῦ* Κοράκου, or Κορακίου. Leake, N. G. iv. 269, calls it the bridge of St. Bessarion, built by the monastery of Dusikón in Kótziaka.

from Kardhítsa and Trikkala in Thessaly converge upon the Acheloos in their course through northern Ágrapha to Árta and Epiros. Between these two roads leading across the Acheloos, the one by the bridge of Tatárna, the other by that of Kórakos, there is interposed the mountain complexus of Ágrapha, an almost insurmountable barrier to trade and communication.

Buried as it were at the bottom of a basin, in the heart of this wild land, is the village that bears the name of the district,—Ágrapha, a word which in North Aetolia is synonymous with difficulty and danger. Wild and difficult passes, the gorges of the rivers, lead into the narrow valley where, perched on a ledge high above the stream, the few houses of the village cling to the mountain as if ever in danger of sliding down the slope and dashing over the edge of the precipice. Nor is the danger purely fanciful. In 1877, after long-continued rains, the whole western half of the village collapsed, and began to slide steadily downwards, finally sinking into the quivering earth[1].

In Ágrapha the Demarch's house, sadly out of the perpendicular, alone survives as a specimen of the older architecture which came to this untimely end. The four plain walls, pierced with a single doorway and furnished with a few loopholes to admit air and light to the rooms on the ground floor, show plainly that the original idea was that of a fortress rather than a dwelling. These lower chambers are used as store-rooms, and sometimes for cattle. Mounting the steep dark staircase in the inside we emerge into a long hall running the entire length of the building, and taking up half the breadth. At each end of the hall there is a platform on which the master sits, which at night serves as his own bed-place and that of the other male members and ordinary guests of the family. The walls are decorated with guns and pistols of curious clumsy-looking shapes, richly inlaid with silver, to most of which there attaches some grim legend of fierce and bloody encounter with the Turk. Doorways lead into separate smaller apartments, such as kitchen and sleeping-rooms for women and distinguished visitors.

[1] Cf. the fate of the village Lykochóri on the slopes of Viéna; 'it fell down the side of the mountain and disappeared with all the adjoining soil.' Leake, N. G. i. 131.

Numerous openings in its three outer walls admit light and air to the great chamber through carved wooden lattices, the handiwork of the Wallachians inhabiting the range of Pindos. In summer the room is pleasant and cool, but in winter, when snow blocks the passes and fierce blasts tear howling through the gorges, it must be terribly cold. The hall projects at the ends, and often on all three sides, beyond the line of the outer walls, so that it forms a sort of closed balcony, the ends of the supporting beams being in many cases richly carved.

Such is the house of the Demarch of Ágrapha, certainly the finest and perhaps the only example of this type to be found now in Aetolia, though many still survive in Thessaly, especially in the villages on the slopes of Pindos and Pelion. This style of architecture seems to be due to Wallachian influence, for apparently it is found only in those parts of Greece which were once in the hands of that people. It is well known that Thessaly formed the kingdom of Great Wallachia, while Little Wallachia embraced part of Aetolia and Akarnania[1]. In essentials, indeed, the building we have described is identical with the type prevailing through the length and breadth of Greece, but the Greek has apparently quite lost that artistic instinct which might give individuality and interest to his dwelling if it failed to give it beauty. The Wallachians seem to be the sole repositories of art in the kingdom; as workers in wood or in silver, as embroiderers of woollen stuffs, and as manufacturers, they are on a level much above that of the Greeks around them. Hence, beyond the sphere of Wallachian influence the undecorated style of architecture prevails with a dead and distressing uniformity. The embellishments of wealth are mostly crude and purely external; in plan and arrangement the mansion of the Athenian merchant and the cottage of the Aetolian peasant are identical.

[1] Cf. Leake, N. G. i. 274. For an account of the Wallachians consult Tozer, *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, ii. 170–182; Rodd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, p. 37 fol.

CHAPTER V.

Kravari[1].

The name of Krávari has but an ill sound to modern Greek ears; it is second only to Ágrapha in this respect. Geographically the district might be described as an epitome of Aetolia, in that its mountains are not disposed hap-hazard, but are arranged in parallel lines running from south-west to north-east and alternating with considerable streams, so as to form four distinct zones across the country. And this is the secret of the evils of Krávari. This arrangement of the mountains makes travel and communication very difficult, and the valleys are too narrow to admit of the villages perched on the steep slopes reaping to the full the advantages of their inexhaustible water-supply. The soil of the narrow plateaux and of the lower slopes of the hills is good, though scanty; maize, wheat, and vines flourish. The drawback is that there is not land sufficient to support the population,—στενοχωρία, 'narrowness of coast,' is the sum and substance of the complaints of the Kravarites. A large proportion of the population has perforce become pastoral. The mountain pastures of Krávari are therefore not leased to those wandering shepherds who are all included under the vague term Vláchi, whatever their true nationality, but they are kept in the hands of the villagers themselves. A third resource is found in the forests that clothe the hills. The trees are cut and dressed to standard sizes, and are then transported with infinite toil to the streams.

Thus as agriculturists, shepherds, and woodcutters, the

[1] Τὸ Κράβαρι, Τὰ Κράββαρα. Gell, *Itin.* p. 295, describes it as 'a high rugged country, but producing good apples'!

Kravarites win bread from the mountain and valley. Their life is poor and hard, one long struggle with unfavourable natural surroundings, and the effect upon character is plainly marked. The people of Krávari do not possess that spontaneous and gracious hospitality which in the rest of Aetolia comes to lighten for the traveller the hardships of the road. Impertinent curiosity is apt to take the place of the eager but respectful interest displayed by the inhabitants of the other Aetolian cantons; and too often a combination of contemptuous indifference and sordid calculation repels the attempt to establish sympathetic intercourse. Of the Plataniotes, who are perhaps the most typical examples of the Kravarite character, a saying is current which sums up this attitude,—'they will pay the stranger to be rid of him.'

Plátanos is a conspicuous example of another distinguishing feature of this district. The poverty of their mountain homes suggests emigration, and it has become a distinct tradition for the younger sons of the Kravarites to seek their fortune abroad, for the most part in Turkey. After years of absence they return, often rich according to a Greek standard, and marrying they spend the remainder of their life among the mountains which they have never forgotten nor ceased to love. If a man, more than usually prosperous, is tempted to remain in exile, his generous gift of land or money for new church or school reminds his native village that his heart is still in Krávari. It is thus not rare to find in Krávari a measure of education and symbols of prosperity such as the physical character of the district would seem to render impossible. Plátanos, for example, situated far up the weary slopes of Mount Ardhíni, above the narrow vale of the Kákavos, in a desperate wilderness, would seem doomed to remain for ever a miserable village. Yet, in spite of its situation, Plátanos is one of the most important towns in the canton[1]. The houses are large and well constructed of stone, the church spacious, and, after a Greek fashion, handsome, with a London clock which has no companion nearer than Karpenísi or Mesolónghion, the Dan and Beer-sheba of Aetolia. And now the long mule-trains of the Karanghúnidhes are bringing up sand from the

[1] Curiously enough, its commercial relations are chiefly with Naupaktos.

Kákavos, to be used in building for the Plataniotes a school that shall be second to none in Krávari[1]. All these are the gifts of their children far away in Turkey. This patriotism in the expenditure at home of wealth won abroad is indeed common to all the Greeks[2], but in Krávari its results are conspicuous. While, again, in the other cantons of Aetolia the traveller hears nothing but Greek, in Krávari the more familiar accents of French, German, or Italian, often greet him as he arrives at some obscure village in the heart of the mountains,—all learnt in that school of modern languages, Constantinople.

The Kravarite villages are by no means thinly scattered, but they are generally placed high on the mountain side, so that constantly in order to reach one full in sight a rough descent followed by a fatiguing ascent is unavoidable. Thus many hours of toil often end in but little actual advance. The scenery, however, compensates for the difficulties of the travelling. The path lies for the most part at a great elevation, leading through forests of oaks or firs. From our eminence the eye follows the windings of the Phídharis or the Mórnos imprisoned in the gorge a thousand feet below us. On the opposite ridge the white houses of the villages enliven the sombre green of the slopes. Behind and above all tower the snowy summits of Vardhúsi and Kióna, or the distant cone of Chelmós in the Peloponnese.

From every point in the land of Krávari the masses of Vardhúsi and Kióna form a background to the view, and remind us that we are approaching the eastern limits of Aetolia. The two mountains constitute one of the most curious features in the physiognomy of the country. Their elevation, over eight thousand feet, gives them an appearance of isolation, and accentuates the contrast between their direction, almost due north and south, and that of the mountains of Krávari. A narrow defile separates Vardhúsi from his neighbour on the east, and down this runs the Méga, the 'Great river,' with which the Kókkinos, the 'Red river'

[1] This was written in 1893.

[2] In 1896 we have a good instance in the magnificent restoration of the Panathenaic Stadion by M. Averof,—a gift which strikingly illustrates what is said on p. 50, *note* 2. Those who have visited Greece can recall many similar examples of patriotic, if often misdirected, munificence.

flowing along the western foot of Vardhúsi, unites to produce the Mórnos. The forms of the two mountains are in striking contrast. Kióna springs skywards with a single effort. Vardhúsi rises gradually in a graceful line from south to north; we see the snows beginning and gradually deepening and spreading until the eye rests upon the white peak on the northern extremity.

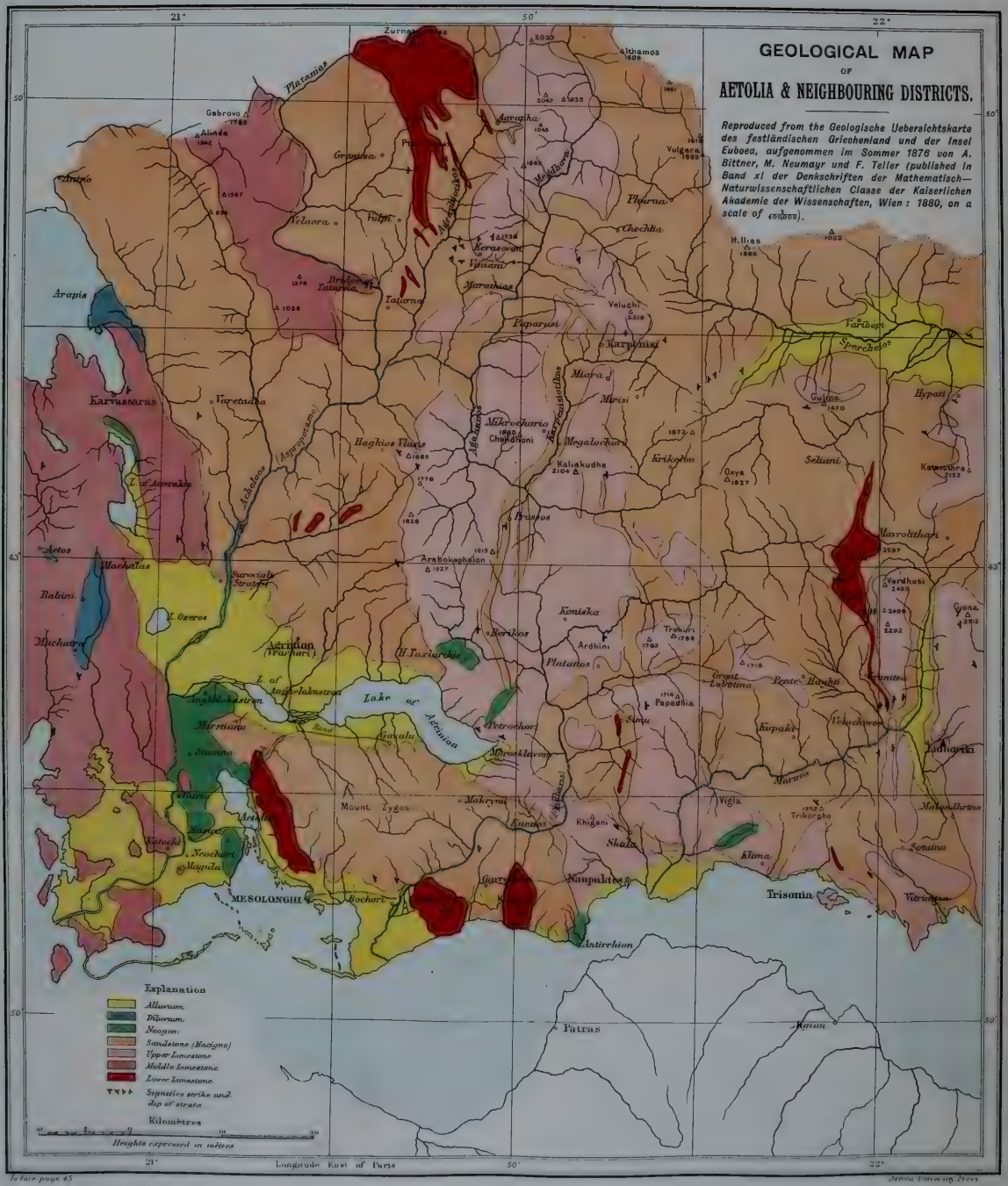
CHAPTER VI.

Conclusion.

The geological structure of the area we have examined is neither very complex nor does it present a great variety of formations, yet in its relation to the external physical features it is a factor of importance in the history of the country. Just as the physical features range themselves in lines parallel from east to west or from north to south, so, geologically considered, is the country made up of three belts of fairly equal width running down from the interior to the coast.

On the west, stretching along the Acheloos, there is a belt of sandstone, which extends laterally as far as the base of Kútupas and Kynigú; southwards it is continued in the Zygós. In the centre, and at each extremity, it is characterized by the inclusion within it of masses of limestone,—those of Mount Pterí, the western end of the Zygós above Mesolónghi, and the two excrescences of Varássova and Klókova. South of the central basin the belt no longer keeps to its meridional course, but trends away into the south-east,—a peculiarity shared by the two formations still to be described.

The belt that comes next to the western sandstone is the great limestone axis of Aetolia, the continuation of the Pindos chain. In the north it constitutes the impracticable region of the Aetolian Alps, among which the ridge of Kerásovon must be regarded as the true prolongation of Pindos. The line is continued in Chelidhóni: similarly, on the east, Kaliakúdha follows upon Velúchi. At this point the bipartite is abandoned for a tripartite arrangement; for, in a line with Kaliakúdha and Chelidhóni, we have the ridge



To face page 45

of Kútupas forming a third member to the west, and encroaching upon the western sandstone so as greatly to diminish its breadth north of Hághios Vlásis. On the south, Kútupas is connected by Kynigú with Araboképhalon in such a way as to form an unbroken rampart of limestone across the very centre of Aetolia from west to east, in a direction at right angles to the extension of the formation. The effect of this is seen in the distorted courses of the streams, and the deep gorges which they have cut in the highly tilted strata. From this point this belt also suffers the dislocation noticed in the case of the sandstone. The extension of the limestone is towards the south-east; at the latitude of Petrochóri it is thrown to the east of the Phídharis, so that it constitutes the greater part of the rugged canton of Krávari. It finally reaches the sea in the pyramid of Rhígani. It is of importance to notice that, in the north, the continuity of this belt is completely broken, namely, between the Kerásovon ridge and Chelidhóni, and between Velúchi and Kaliakúdha. A narrow sandstone band there runs eastwards, and connects the two sandstone regions with each other.

The eastern sandstone occupies the space between the central limestone and the two short limestone barriers of Vardhúsi and Kióna. It is distinguished from the western sandstone in this respect, that in Mount Oxyá it forms a ridge of considerable elevation[1], which falls into the series of natural features constituting the eastern frontier of Aetolia. Further south this feature is repeated in the ridge of Tríkorpho[2]. It is, indeed, largely owing to this that the three regions which we have sketched form a whole, in spite of the sharp severance of one from the other in structure and external aspect.

Yet another result has ensued. Intercourse must follow the line of least resistance, and in the case of Aetolia this crossed the Acheloos[3]. That river, in fact, was a purely artificial line of demarcation between Aetolia and Akarnania,

[1] 1927 mètres. [2] 1552 mètres.

[3] Cf. Vischer, *Erinnerungen u. Eindrücke aus Griechenland*, p. 520: 'Akarnanien und Aetolien, welche nicht durch Gebirge, sondern nur durch den Acheloosfluss von einander getrennt oder vielmehr mit einander verbunden wurden.'

and it was characterized by all the disadvantages of such artificiality. Even before the dawn of history there was the liveliest intercourse between the two districts; that it was throughout of a hostile nature was purely accidental.

In a third most striking manner the geological character of the land has influenced its historical development, and in this case also analysis takes us back to the sandstone. The western belt provided an enticing path for Aetolian arms towards the north, partly because it nowhere presents the difficult features of the eastern region, partly because it leads immediately from the central depression. Being thus enabled to turn the barrier of Araboképhalon, the armies of the League were guided by Nature herself into the valley of the Spercheios, and so into the Thessalian plains. It had a deep significance for the history of Aetolia that a gap occurs between the limestone masses of Velúchi and Vardhúsi, a gap which is not completely filled even by the sandstone range of Oxyá. Therefore did the League stretch out one hand eastwards to Thermopylai and the Thessalian ports, even as it stretched out another westwards to Ambrakia.

Equally operative was the structure of the country in hindering the formation of a naval station upon the Corinthian Gulf. In the gulf of Krissa, indeed, more than one eligible site was to be found, notably that now occupied by Galaxídhi. Yet that port lay too far distant from the centre of Aetolian power, or rather it is precisely with Aetolia proper that communication from Galaxídhi is most difficult; for, while the pass of Ámbliani[1] allows easy access to Northern Greece, there is no natural and easy route to be found leading westwards. At the western extremity of the Aetolian coast-line the case is in a curious manner exactly the reverse. There the long hoarded spoils of the Acheloos are deposited, and that maze of shallows and sandbanks created which effectually frustrated the attempt to establish serious communication with the outer sea. On the other hand, the connexion of the coast plain with that of the interior is quite satisfactory. Accordingly, contrasting the eastern and western sections of Southern Aetolia, we reach the significant result that on the one hand we have the rich lands around Mount

[1] See p. 59.

Arakynthos (Mount Zygós) deprived of a sea-board, on the other we have an excellent coast from which the interior is so completely severed as to remain for ever practically non-existent [1].

And at Naupaktos, the only remaining eligible site, the latter characteristic is still too predominant. Although the port was perforce adopted, its value as a factor in the history of the League never reached a really high power [2]. It has never, I think, been observed that the value of this town has continuously decreased. The wider the historical relations of Aetolia became, and the more thoroughly economic and non-military their character, the more surely sank Naupaktos into decay. Of greater importance during the seventh and sixth centuries than during the fifth, and during the fifth than during the fourth and the third, Naupaktos has steadily deteriorated. The logical result was reached almost in our own day, when throughout the bitter vicissitudes of the struggle with the Turks its garrison sat wholly inoperative, and its fortress was demonstrated to be a superfluous piece in the game of war [3]. If Naupaktos was doomed to a position of comparative unimportance even in ancient times, how can it be otherwise now when expansion depends entirely upon those economic relations which can never be established between the town and the interior? The local patriots lament the favouritism, as they love to call it, that prevented the North-Western Hellenic Railway making Naupaktos its point of departure. They resolutely close their eyes to the fact that even the road [4] which connects them

[1] Neum. u. Part. *Phys. Geogr.* p. 163: 'Kann man die fetten Niederungen rings um den Arakynthos hinter dem unschiffbaren Lagunendistrict von Mesolongion ein schönes Hinterland ohne Küste nennen, so lag hier [i. e. in Lokris] eine schöne Küste ohne Hinterland.'

[2] This does not contradict what is said on p. 336. The Aetolians were bound to make the best of the situation. The acquisition of Naupaktos was all-important to the development of the League, in spite of the drawbacks here sketched.

[3] A fact which should be taken into consideration in estimating the significance of Byron's work in Greece. It was his ambition to make himself master of Naupaktos.

[4] This road is hardly ever in thorough repair, as, owing to their poverty, the Demes can only spasmodically meet the expense of filling up the gaps caused by the annual collapse of the sandstone. But there is no vehicular traffic between Naupaktos and the lakes, and no demand for

with the lake region has yet to prove its claim to be considered a necessary and beneficial construction, such as a poor country was justified in putting early in its programme of internal development.

The effect of the above-mentioned combination of characteristics found in the sea-board of Aetolia was somewhat curious. The League was compelled to turn to the Ionian islands in order to supply its deficiency in sea-ports, so that Kephallenia became virtually the southern naval station. Similarly, to the geography was directly due the strange phenomenon that we observe in ancient Aetolia,—there was no capital, no centre of gravity; or, rather, various points external to Aetolia proper served in turn as such centres. Ambrakia, Herakleia, Naupaktos, Lamia,—these were, each in their degree, the real capitals of the League, and as such they were the objectives of its Roman enemies. It was only to a Philip that the *coup de théâtre* of the sack of Thermon could recommend itself as an enterprise worthy of a serious general. It is a mistaken notion that this non-existence of a capital in ancient Aetolia is to be attributed to an impossibility of finding a suitable site[1],—that there is in Aetolia absolutely no room for such a city. What combination of physical characteristics could be found more favourable than that existing in the very heart of Aetolia? The political influence gathered in the hands of the Trichonian chieftains[2] affords ample proof that some other reason must be sought to explain the absence of great cities in Aetolia proper.

That reason we have virtually already given. The towns of Old Aetolia were cut off from all real contact with the sea, and in no less degree from contact with the tribes of Aetolia Epiktetos. Yet intimate connexion with both sea and the interior was an essential condition. If the former desideratum had been frankly abandoned, and if Trichonion or Thermon had been elevated to the position of a capital city, the difficulty was not thereby solved; for intercourse between

the road, as the agogiats constantly take to the hills to avoid the détours of the highway, not only here but throughout Greece.

[1] Cf. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 7. He says that we find no valley or arable land all the way west of Parnassos until we reach Akarnania: that consequently we could not possibly have a capital, as there is nowhere room for a large town. [2] See p. 235.



END OF THE KLEISURA : LAGOON OF AETOLIKO IN THE DISTANCE.

those towns and the several sections of the Aetolian name remained none the less partial, while there was added the disability that this central territory lay fatally exposed to the hostility of Akarnania. There was, therefore, practically no effort made to concentrate the life of the League in any single town of Aetolia or of the Aetolian dependencies. The Federation remained in essence a union of tribes, in obedience to the tendency impressed upon the history by the geographical features of the country[1].

In what way the physical peculiarities of each particular site reacted upon its history and status in the list of Aetolian towns becomes very clear upon a detailed examination. Here we shall deal only with the central plain. The thorny problem that centres round its two lakes will in its proper place receive full discussion; but that is merely a question of nomenclature. In what follows we wish to speak from a higher standpoint than that of topography,—to cast a glance behind and before us.

Two other physical features must be brought into connexion with the Aetolo-Akarnanian depression. In the first place, we must take into account the existence of the two eroded outlets to the southward,—the Kleisúra, and the present bed of the Acheloos. In the second place, we have the alluvial deposits below Aetolikó and Mesolónghi. Even a superficial observer[2] would surmise that at some distant epoch the central plain must have been a great lake, discharging its surplus by way of the Kleisúra into what is now the lagoon-complex of Lower Aetolia. In no other way than by the action of an alluvium-laden stream issuing from that pass could the sandbanks that cross the lagoon have been deposited. Certain conditions, therefore, must once have been fulfilled which do not now obtain. Not only is the Kleisúra cut through the end of the limestone mass enclosed by the sandstone of the Zygós, whereas the present

[1] This explanation is at any rate better than that quite superficial view according to which 'the close union of the Aetolian Tribes was little more than the union of a band of robbers.' (Freeman, *Hist. of Federal Gov.*, ed. 2, p. 259.) When shall we discard the childish robber-state theory of the Aetolian constitution and politics?

[2] That at any rate was my own case: my views on Central Aetolia were stereotyped before I learnt of the investigations of Neumayr.

bed of the river passes through a much more easily eroded formation; but the floor of the pass is considerably elevated *above the level of the central plain.* The plain has suffered denudation, but this fact only makes more pressing the question as to how the outlet ever came to be cut through the Zygós, instead of more to the west where the hills are lower and their material less capable of resistance. There must have taken place a subsidence in the region through which the Acheloos now flows, or the Zygós near the Kleisúra must have suffered upheaval, or both. The present bed of the Acheloos, between the Stamná-Anghelókastron district (a recent formation) and the limestone of central Akarnania, must be of comparatively modern date. Previously, the river flowed through the Kleisúra, depositing at its southern outlet those sandbanks and alluvial plains which surround Aetolikó and Mesolónghi. When that alteration of levels took place which diverted the Acheloos to the west, the rapid erosion of its new bed soon enabled it to drain more completely the central basin. As the water sank, a secondary channel of drainage was established,—the river of Anghelókastron,—which still further reduced the water area, until the present equilibrium resulted. The Aetolian lakes of the Apókuro and Zygós, with the Akarnanian Ozerós, are the last vestiges of the inland sheet of water.

It is a practical question, which has occurred to more than one observer[1], whether it would not be advantageous to disturb the equilibrium, so as to diminish the area still occupied by water. If the present outlet of the lake of Anghelókastron were deepened, and a canal were cut through the deposits of the Eremítsas between the lakes of Anghelókastron and Vrachóri, a large tract of the most fertile land would be reclaimed for cultivation, and the most convenient means of transport would be created at the same time. In this way Aetolia might take a large share in the economic development of the kingdom[2].

[1] Fiedler, *Reise.* i. 183; Neumayr, *op. cit.* p. 125.

[2] It is a pregnant illustration of the change from ancient to modern history, to observe how completely those regions which in Classical times were scarcely regarded as Hellenic have now become of vital importance from a political, economic, or strategic point of view. This fact more than aught else stultifies the would-be reversion to the Classical

It is only the realisation of the above suggestion with regard to Central Aetolia that will in the future justify the past expenditure upon the improvement of Mesolónghi. Mesolónghi would become the *entrepôt* for the produce of the interior. A similar position would be created for Anghelókastron. The causes which in the past made that site important would work again to give it rank as the second city in Aetolia[1]. For the modern Agrinion owes its prosperity to purely accidental causes,—chiefly hygienic[2]; in the face of the revolutionary changes which we have suggested it is doubtful how far the town would be able to retain its present position. A mortal blow will also be dealt, probably before many years have elapsed, when railway communication is pushed forward to the gulf of Árta[3], thence perhaps to be extended along the natural route by way of Karpenísi to Lamia.

The material resources that in Aetolia would justify such an extension are principally three in number,—the grain that might be produced in the plains; the cattle reared on the evergreen slopes; the timber of the northern and eastern mountains. Of mineral wealth Aetolia is probably entirely destitute. In developing these resources, here as elsewhere throughout the kingdom, there is required a more intelligent appreciation of the real capabilities of the land, and a less selfish exploitation of its advantages. At present both conditions remain unrealized, especially the latter. The mountains are ruthlessly denuded of their priceless burden of forest; what is spared by the lumber-man soon falls a victim to the more deadly methods of the charcoal burner and the shepherd[4], and

standpoint on the part of the modern Greeks. The adoption of Athens as the capital of the kingdom was a striking example of this false continuity of history. In 1896 we have another, in the celebration of the Olympic Games (save the mark!) in the Panathenaic Stadion in Athens.

[1] See p. 210. [2] See p. 17.

[3] First to Karvassarás, along the line of the present highway, which traverses the pass of Machalás. Next, possibly, to Vónitsa and Leukas, rather than northwards to Árta.

[4] This should be supplemented by reference to an extremely valuable paper, entitled *Zur Vegetationskarte des Peloponnes*, by Dr. Philippson in Bd. xli of *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1895 (summarized in the *Geographical Journal*, April, 1896). He lays stress on the steady destruction of forests,

before the evil is realized the earthy covering born of the slow centuries has vanished for ever. Pursuits are carried on without regard either to mutual advantage or to the well-being of the national estate. Such is but the natural outcome of extreme democracy when adopted by a people still in the stage of political infancy. The woodcutter is the greatest sinner. The exploitation of the forests must be strictly regulated, chiefly by a more thorough-going employment of the useless standing army in the task of guardianship, and by the adoption of measures to ensure that trees cut down shall be at once replaced by young ones. Along with this, the pasturage of goats must be superintended with ceaseless vigilance, if even the most conscientious enforcement of the above measures is not to be rendered nugatory. Let the Greek people look to it; from Cape Matapan to Mount Olympos the naked hills bear piteous testimony to a short-sighted and selfish policy[1].

and the degradation of the vegetation, i.e. the replacement of the forest by *maquis* (dense evergreen scrub); and of the *maquis* by *phrygana* (small dry prickly shrubs scattered thinly over the surface). Timber-cutting, ill-regulated or illicit, destroys the forests; charcoal burning and pasturage the scrub (cf. p. 278: 'Die Köhlerei ist der schlimmste Feind der Maquien'). As the last and most fatal of the series of changes produced by this criminal ignorance, come the destruction of the soil and the deterioration of the climate. The soil, once lost, can never be recovered.

[1] Cf. Dr. Philippson:—'Desto mehr wäre es Pflicht der Selbsterhaltung, wenigstens die noch vorhandenen Wälder zu schützen und die leichtsinnige Ausrottung der Maquien durch Axt und Feuer in eine geordnete, sparsame Ausnutzung zu verwandeln. Gerade der Schutz der Maquien ist für die Bodenerhaltung ebenso wichtig wie der Forstschutz. Aber selbst für diese dringendste Aufgabe fehlt es in Griechenland an Verständniss und Thatkraft, so dass der weitere Fortschritt der Verschlechterung des Bodens und des Klimas unabwendbar erscheint' (p. 275 of the paper above cited).


Map of
ANCIENT AETOLIA
Kilomètres
10 5 0 10 20
DOLOPES
AMPHILOCHOI
AMBRACIAN GULF
AGRAIOI
APERANTOI
R. Achelous
R. Petitarus
R. Pamisos
R. Kyathos
R. Sperchios
AINIANES
EURYTANES
THESTIEIS
BOMIEIS
OPHIONEIS
DOLOPIA
AETOLIA
DOUTTIOI ABDOUTIOI
DZOLIAN LOKRIANS
AKARNANIA
ATHENIS
Stratos
Thestia
Thermon
Temple
Pamphos
Phelloia
Mytapa
Trichonium
Chalcis
Molykreion
Naupaktos
Rhion
Patrai
Aigion
Helikè
Sikyon
Corinth
Tempe
Lamia
Hypata
Kallion
Thermopylae
Mount Oeta
Mount Taphiassos
Mount Chalkis
Mount Korax
Mount Panaitolikon
Mount Aracynthus
Mount Arsinoe
Mount Varnus
Mount Chalcis
Mount Aperopia
Mount Thermon
LAKE TRICHONIS
LAKE MELITE
LAKE OURIA
LAKE OF KALYDON
Kalydon
Pleuron
Pylene
Chalkis
Naupaktos
Molykreion
Antirrhion
Rhion
Aigion
Helikè
Sikyon
Corinth
Tempe
Lamia
Hypata
Kallion
Thermopylae
Mount Oeta
Mount Taphiassos
Mount Chalkis
Mount Korax
Mount Panaitolikon
Mount Aracynthus
Mount Arsinoe
Mount Varnus
Mount Chalcis
Mount Aperopia
Mount Thermon
CORINTHIAN GULF
ACHAIA
21° 25' 50' 75' 22°
Long East of Paris

THE AETOLIAN TRIBES

Ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν τὰ αἰνίγματα λύειν ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβὲς οὐ ῥᾴδιον, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν μυθευομένων ἐκτεθέντος εἰς τὸ μέσον, τῶν μὲν ὁμολογούντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν δ᾽ ἐναντιουμένων, εὐπορώτερον ἄν τις δύναιτο εἰκάζειν ἐξ αὐτῶν τἀληθές. Strabo, p. 474.

CHAPTER VII.

The Aetolian Tribes.

I.

We learn from Strabo that Aetolia was generally understood to fall into two divisions, known as Old and Acquired (Epiktetos) Aetolia respectively[1]. The genesis and real meaning of this distinction are obscure, but it must bear reference to the extension of the Aetolian power beyond its original narrow limits, whatever may have been the way in which that extension was effected. There is, indeed, a real and significant contrast in our earliest notices of the people and their land. Homer knows only five Aetolian cities,—Pleuron, Olenos, Pylene, Chalkis and Kalydon; and their mythic glory is second to none in Greece[2]. We search the poems in vain for the names of the Ozolian Lokrians or the Akarnanians, their neighbours on the east and west; of the tribes to the north we should hardly expect to find any mention. Homer's Aetolia is thus nothing more than the plain that extends between the sea and the Zygós, of which the limits on the west and east are the Acheloos and Mount Klókova. That the central plain also was included in Old Aetolia cannot be proved from the *Iliad*.

When we next hear of Aetolia we are in a new world. The Aetolia of Thucydides is the abode of rude savages[3];

[1] Str. p. 450: *καὶ δὴ καὶ διῃρῆσθαι συνέβαινε δίχα τὴν Αἰτωλίαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀρχαίαν λέγεσθαι τὴν δ' ἐπίκτητον.* Cf. *id.* p. 460.

[2] Hom. *Il.* ii. 638:—

> Αἰτωλῶν δ' ἦγεῖτο Θόας Ἀνδραίμονος υἱός,
> οἳ Πλευρῶν' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὤλενον ἠδὲ Πυλήνην
> Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχίαλον Καλυδῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν.

Cf. *id.* ix. 529 fol.

[3] That at any rate was the notion current at the time, but it was far from the truth.

unwalled villages take the place of the strong and famous cities of the *Iliad*. Such is New Aetolia, of far wider extent than the Old, and of far different character. Where the one ended and the other began it is hard to say. In default of exact information as to the lines of division between the tribes, geographical considerations mainly must guide us to our conclusions. Exactness is impossible. We shall be fortunate if our utmost endeavours enable us to locate the various peoples in a way that harmonizes the scanty notices we possess. We must not seek to trace their boundaries with a precision that was perhaps unknown to themselves.

The grounds upon which we feel justified in extending the term Old Aetolia beyond the coast plain into the central basin are clear from our general survey of the natural features of the country. It would not be easy to believe that the rich and powerful inhabitants of the maritime plain could have been prevented by the barrier of the Zygós from spreading into the broader expanse to the north. The pass of the Kleisúra is a natural gateway inviting communication between the two plains. Nevertheless, it seems equally improbable that the whole of the central basin could have belonged to Old Aetolia. We have shown that there is a sharp contrast between the eastern and western divisions of the depression[1]. Strictly speaking, it is only the western part that can be called a plain. The eastern portion is of a different character, the space between Araboképhalon and the Zygós being taken up almost entirely by the lake; only at intervals, the hills, receding somewhat from the water, leave bays of fertile land, connected one with the other by a rocky path over the intervening spur of the mountain. It seems most probable that this system of alternate plain and pass, which guarded, as we know, the approaches to the capital of the League, did not form part of the area included under the name Old Aetolia.

The limit of Old Aetolia on this side, if a limit was ever in existence, would fall most naturally some way east of the Kleisúra, so as to embrace the western end of Lake Trichonis, with the rich land on its southern shores. If we had only the geography to guide us we should draw the boundary some-

[1] See pp. 17, 18.

where about the promontory east of Gavalú. Then, skirting the ridge above the modern town of Agrinion, the frontier line would run westwards to the Acheloos[1]. And this, in fact, is what Strabo tells us of the limits of Ancient Aetolia, as understood by him or his authorities. He says[2]:—'Ancient Aetolia embraces the coast from the Acheloos as far as Kalydon, extending also a good distance into the interior, which consists of a fruitful plain; in this plain lies Stratos, and also Trichonion, possessing excellent land.' Strabo evidently intends to give us the extreme eastern and western cities of the inland plain.

The whole of the remaining country belongs to New Aetolia; but we should be unable to say much about the tribes in possession in historical times had we not the story of the Athenian invasion of 426 B.C. Thucydides lays the foundations of our knowledge in prefacing his account with the meagre description furnished by the Messenians with respect to their dangerous neighbours. 'The Aetolians,' they said, 'though a warlike nation, dwelt in unwalled villages, which were widely scattered; and as they had only light-armed soldiers they would be subdued without difficulty before they could combine. Demosthenes should first attack the Apodotoi, then the Ophioneis, and after them the Eurytanes. The last are the largest tribe of the Aetolians; they speak a dialect more unintelligible than that of their neighbours, and are said to eat raw flesh[3].'

[1] We must perforce leave undetermined the relation between the Thestieis, &c., and Old Aetolia. It is possible that the frontier of Aetolia Antiqua stopped short at the southern shore of the lake of Anghelókastron (see pp. 87, 173). The Thestieis may have been the intermediaries by whose means Aetolia was extended until it ultimately embraced the whole territory inhabited by the three tribes of the Epiktetos. But the part played by the Thestieis in the political development of the country does not justify any inference as to the boundaries of the divisions into which Aetolia was generally understood to fall.

[2] Str. p. 450: *ἀρχαίαν μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχελῴου μέχρι Καλυδῶνος παραλίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τῆς μεσογαίας ἀνήκουσαν εὐκάρπου τε καὶ πεδιάδος, ᾗ ἐστὶ καὶ Στράτος καὶ τὸ Τριχώνιον ἀρίστην ἔχον γῆν.*

[3] Thuc. iii. 94: *ἐπιχειρεῖν δ' ἐκέλευον πρῶτον μὲν Ἀποδώτοις, ἔπειτα δὲ Ὀφιονεῦσι, καὶ μετὰ τούτους Εὐρυτᾶσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὠμοφάγοι εἰσίν, ὡς λέγονται.* The last part of the

Starting from a point to the east of Naupaktos, Demosthenes entered Apodotia with the morning light. Thucydides does not, indeed, expressly say that it was upon Apodotia that the invaders first fell, but it is hardly likely either that he should have failed to tell us, if Demosthenes had disregarded the advice of the Messenians, or that they in sketching the plan of campaign should have abandoned the true geographical sequence of the territories to be attacked[1]. The Apodotoi, therefore, occupied the country to the north-east of Naupaktos; but they had no sea-board. This is what we infer from the words of Skylax, who says that 'Aetolia stretches along the whole length of the interior of Lokris, and as far north as the Ainianes[2].' And Dionysios, son of Kalliphon, says:—'the Lokrians dwell south of Aetolia[3].' The inference is confirmed when we examine the march of Eurylochos the Spartan upon Naupaktos, immediately after the repulse of the Athenians. Before leaving Delphi, Eurylochos is very careful to secure hostages, by force or persuasion, from all the Lokrian towns, from Amphissa to Oineon and Eupalion, for 'through the Ozolian Lokrians lay the route to Naupaktos[4].' This conclusively proves that the coast from Amphissa to Naupaktos belonged to the Lokrians. Their next neighbours, at no great distance from the sea, at least in the neighbourhood of Naupaktos, were the Apodotoi. Between the coast-line and the course of the Mórnos there is interposed the range of Tríkorpho and Vígla; what more satisfactory than to see in it the boundary between the Ozolian Lokrians and the Apodotoi[5]? At any rate, if the frontier was a natural one, none other is possible.

How far the Apodotoi extended to the east or the west we have no means of knowing exactly. The idea of Demosthenes was to 'proceed through the Ozolian Lokrians to Kytinion

description looks like an item derived from some other source than the Messenians.

[1] Or some may prefer to draw our conclusion from the implication in Thuc. iii. 96: *τἆλλα καταστρεψάμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ Ὀφιονέας, κ.τ.λ.*

[2] Skyl. Cary. § 35: *Ἡ δὲ Αἰτωλία παρήκει τὴν Λοκρίδα πᾶσαν ἀπὸ μεσογείας μέχρι Αἰνιάνων.*

[3] Dion. *l.* 70: *Οὗτοι κατοικοῦσιν δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν Αἰτωλίας.*

[4] Thuc. iii. 101: *ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Εὐρύλοχος Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀζόλαις· διὰ τούτων γὰρ ἡ ὁδὸς ἦν ἐς Ναύπακτον.*

[5] Bazin suggests this, *Mém.* p. 303.

in Doris, keeping Mount Parnassos on the right, until he came down into Phokis[1].' It is clear that he intended to take the road that runs northwards from Amphissa through the pass Ámbliani[2]. This pass divides the spurs of Parnassos on the east from those of Kióna on the west, and descending directly into the valley of the Kephisos comes to an end at the famous khan of Gravià. The eastern boundary of Apodotia fell, therefore, somewhere to the west of this pass. Mount Kióna itself would undoubtedly form part of the line; but we cannot say to what extent the Apodotoi encroached upon the valley in which are the modern towns of Lidhoríki and Malandhríno.

On the west, the sudden southward bend of the Mórnos between Mount Vígla and the range of Makrývoros would furnish a natural limit to their territory, if we could positively affirm that they were confined entirely to the left bank of the river. We have, however, no evidence as to the extent of Apodotia to either the west or the north, and it is quite impossible to prove that the Mórnos was actually the boundary on those two sides.

All that is certain is that, to the north, the next neighbours of the Apodotoi were the Ophioneis. This is implied in the somewhat obscure sentence in which Thucydides explains the plan of campaign in the mind of Demosthenes. He had halted at Teichion,—which, until the contrary is proved, we must suppose to be in Apodotia,—and from Teichion he sent back the spoils to Eupalion in Lokris, 'for he did not intend to attack the Ophioneis yet: when he had subjugated the rest of the country he would make an expedition against them subsequently, after his return to Naupaktos, if they continued to resist[3].' This sentence enables us to make out the exact point to which Demosthenes had penetrated.

[1] Thuc. iii. 95.

[2] *Ἀμπλιανη.* This pass was naturally of great importance during the War of Independence. See Trik. iii. 151. We still see in it the 'tambúria' raised by Panuriás. For the story of the khan of *Γραβιᾶ*, see Trik. i. 265 fol.

[3] Thuc. iii. 96: *καὶ αἱρεῖ . . . Τείχιον, ἔμενέ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λείαν ἐς Εὐπάλιον τῆς Λοκρίδος ἀπέπεμψεν· τὴν γὰρ γνώμην εἶχε τἆλλα καταστρεψάμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ Ὀφιονέας, εἰ μὴ βούλοιντο ξυγχωρεῖν, ἐς Ναύπακτον ἐπαναχωρήσας στρατεῦσαι ὕστερον.*

The purpose of it is to account for his sudden halt at Teichion, when in the full tide of success[1]. To push on would have taken the invaders into Ophioneia, and the declaration that this part of the scheme was now relinquished is necessary to explain the halt. The corollary is that Teichion was upon the borders of Apodotia, within a short distance of Ophioneia.

Seeing that Naupaktos was on the right bank of the Mórnos, and that Demosthenes is represented as intending to return thither, rather than to Oineon (his point of departure) or some other Lokrian town on the left bank of the river, some have found in this passage the implication that the army had now crossed the Mórnos, and stood on the same side of it as Naupaktos. The words, however, do not imply that Demosthenes intended to march in the direction of Naupaktos, that is to say, towards the west and south-west[2]. If that had been his intention, the sending of the plunder to Eupalion in Lokris would be inexplicable. There was nothing to prevent his taking it along with him to Naupaktos, its eventual destination in any case. The only probable suggestion to make would be that the choice of Eupalion was dictated by a desire to inflame the laggard Ozolians. If, however, Demosthenes was on the point of retreating to Naupaktos, why summon them at all?

The true explanation is that the army was about to move eastwards, in order to ensure the conquest of Apodotia, and that Demosthenes intended to return either by the same route or by one nearer the sea through Lokris itself, to take up his quarters in Naupaktos at the close of the campaign. On the return march he must necessarily pass through Eupalion, where the booty was stored[3]. In other words, the

[1] In other words, *καὶ τὴν λείαν ἐς Εὐπάλιον τῆς Λοκρίδος ἀπέπεμψεν* is a parenthesis.

[2] The mistake lies in emphasizing the words *ἐς Ναύπακτον ἐπαναχωρήσας*, so as to make them = *ἐπαναχωρῆσαι καὶ (στρατεῦσαι)*. They are only a parenthesis, intended to remind us that Naupaktos would form the headquarters of the Athenians when the campaign in Apodotia was concluded.

[3] That is to say, he would withdraw from Apodotia by a route passing either to the north or the south of Mount Tríkorpho. In either case, according to our topography, he must go through Eupalion.

retirement contemplated was not directly from Teichion to Naupaktos, but by way of Lokris after the subjugation of such Apodotian towns as still remained uncaptured. Hence, all arguments to prove that Teichion lay on the right bank of the river, depending as they do merely upon the mention of Naupaktos, fall to the ground.

Rash as Demosthenes was, we can scarcely believe that he could have entertained the idea of burying his handful of men among the mountains in the south-western corner of Krávari. Taking into account the actual character of the theatre of Athenian operations, it seems that the meaning of the passage is as follows[1]. Demosthenes, without having any adequate conception of the nature of the country into which he was marching, had penetrated to the northern limits of Apodotia, the deep valley of the Mórnos. From Teichion he looked across the river into the wild territory of the Ophioneis. The difficulties of his self-imposed task were spread there in visible shape before his eyes, and his plans underwent modification. He would not risk the passage of the river, always difficult, and now perhaps rendered doubly hazardous by the concentration of the Aetolians. He determined, therefore, to complete the conquest of the Apodotoi, hoping that the other Aetolian tribes, by their voluntary submission, would spare him the necessity of plunging into that wilderness of mountains. From his headquarters at Naupaktos he would await the issue, and only if his expectations failed to be realized would he tempt Fate a second time by attacking the Ophioneis in their turn. Starting from Naupaktos for this second campaign, he would avoid the terrible risk involved in crossing a treacherous river and putting it between him and his base.

The inference to be drawn from the passage is, not that Teichion, and therefore Apodotia, but that Ophioneia, lay on the right bank of the Mórnos. This same conclusion we should also draw from the fact that Demosthenes had advanced into Apodotia out of Lokris, while for a campaign among the Ophioneis Naupaktos seemed the most convenient

In other words, Eupalion was his true Lokrian base. The fleet, we imagine, would at once retire to Naupaktos after landing the troops at Oineon.

[1] Supplement this by reference to Chap. xxii.

starting-point, and that though the co-operation of Ozolian light infantry was equally desirable. Whether the Mórnos really formed the boundary line between the two tribes is a question we must leave unsolved. Probability is in favour of an affirmative answer; but it can no more be supported by proof than the opposite view, that Apodotia extended north of the river, can be proved from the apparent connexion between Teichion and Naupaktos. The third possibility, that Ophioneia came down to the south of the Mórnos, is disproved at once by considering the small extent of country between that river and the sea; it is a strip less than ten miles in breadth.

It is only with regard to their extension eastwards that we can speak with some slight confidence about the Ophioneis. The mass of Mount Kióna must have prevented their overflow into the tiny state of Doris. They occupied, perhaps, the long narrow valley between Kióna and Vardhúsi, spreading thence over the heights of Oita almost as far as Thermopylai and the Maliac gulf. For this we are again indebted to a sufficiently obscure sentence of Thucydides. He tells us that 'even the most distant of the Ophioneis, the Bomieis and the Kallieis, who reach down towards the Maliac gulf[1],' came to join the national army raised to resist Demosthenes. The traditional, and probably correct, view is that the Bomieis and the Kallieis were the most easterly sections of the Ophioneis, perhaps only two names in a list that has for ever perished. Probably it would have been as futile in ancient times as it is to-day to inquire after the exact boundaries of the Ophioneis in this direction. In an indeterminate and fluctuating manner, starting from some point west of the Trachinian Herakleia, the tribe embraced the range of Oita and the hills round the head of the valley of the Kephisos. Herakleia did not become Aetolian until 280 B.C.[2], so that in the time of Thucydides the Ophioneis cannot have come quite down to the Maliac gulf: in fact, he probably exaggerated their extension in this direction. However that may be, on the one side they looked down from their mountains upon

[1] Thuc. iii. 96: *ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι Ὀφιονέων οἱ πρὸς τὸν Μηλιακὸν κόλπον καθήκοντες* Βωμιῆς *καὶ* Καλλιῆς *ἐβοήθησαν.*

[2] Paus. x. 21. 1: *ἔτει γὰρ πρότερον τούτων* (i. e. the Gallic invasion) *οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ συντελεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας ἠνάγκασαν ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικόν.*

the Dorians, and on the other upon the Thessalians of the Spercheios valley.

It is still more difficult to assign to the Ophioneis exact limits in the west and south-west. In Homeric Aetolia Chalkis was the most easterly city. Its situation is certain; it was on the slope of Varássova, between that hill and Mount Klókova. From the structure of the country it follows that Klókova would naturally be looked upon as the boundary of Old Aetolia on this side. And the Lokrians, as we have seen, were in possession of the coast eastwards from Naupaktos, or at any rate from the mouth of the Mórnos. Is it not then possible that the Ophioneis, extending from the right bank of the Mórnos, came down from behind Mount Rhígani to the sea between Chalkis and Naupaktos? This possibility must be examined.

At the date of which we are speaking (426 B.C.), Naupaktos had been for thirty years the home of the exiled Messenians[1], who must also have been in possession of the land to the east or west of the city. It would be difficult to believe that the plain between Naupaktos and the Mórnos could have belonged to any other town than Naupaktos itself, for on the east of the river there was none sufficiently powerful to dispute the occupancy of land on the western bank. Then, as now, the rich open valleys and the fruitful plain by the sea would amply suffice for the needs of Oineon, Eupalion, and the neighbouring small Lokrian towns of which the names and the ruins have been preserved. The territory to the west of Naupaktos, on the other hand, was doubtless mainly occupied by the inhabitants of the two towns which we know to have existed on the hills in this direction, namely Makynia and Molykreion, as well as by those of the possible settlement on Antirrhion. The isolated position of these towns and of Chalkis, cut off as they were from the rest of Aetolia by the Phídharis, which flows behind them from the north-east, rendered them all peculiarly liable to attack. At an unknown date Chalkis fell into the hands of the Corinthians, who also established themselves at Molykreion[2]. In 455 B.C. Tolmides took possession of Chalkis for Athens, and Moly-

[1] Thuc. i. 103: *καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι δεξάμενοι . . . ἐς Ναύπακτον κατῴκισαν, ἣν ἔτυχον ἠρηκότες νεωστὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἐχόντων.* Cf. Paus. iv. 24. 7.

[2] Thuc. i. 108.

kreion also was wrested from its first conquerors [1]. The country between Naupaktos and Old Aetolia, therefore, long before the middle of the fifth century, had fallen into other hands, if it ever was Aetolian. We are right, then, in saying that in 426 B.C. no point on the coast, east of Mount Klókova, belonged to the Aetolians.

There is, in fact, proof enough that this conclusion would also hold good of a still earlier period. For the apparent discrepancies in the testimony of the geographers are due to the fact that they have combined statements that apply to different epochs. We can without difficulty distinguish those which refer (1) to the period preceding the Corinthian and Athenian conquests from those which refer (2) to the time of the greatest extension of the Aetolian League, or even (3) to the epoch of Roman supremacy.

(1) When Strabo tells us that the springs at the foot of Mount Taphiassos (Mount Klókova) gave the Lokrians their by-name of 'Ozolian [2]', he is speaking of the original state of things, in which the whole extent of coast eastwards from Mount Taphiassos as far as the Krissaian gulf belonged to the Lokrians. And the poet Archytas of Amphissa referred to the same epoch in his verses on Makynia [3].

(2) On the other hand, in describing Molykreion as a 'town of Aetolia,' Strabo [4] reproduces the words of his authority without having regard to the actual fact as it was in his own day, when Molykreion must long have been lost to the Aetolians. Similarly, he says of Naupaktos that 'it is *now* an Aetolian possession on the strength of Philip's award [5].'

[1] Thuc. iii. 102.

[2] Str. p. 427: Ὁ Ταφιασσὸς λόφος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Νέσσου μνῆμα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Κενταύρων, ὧν ἀπὸ τῆς σηπεδόνος φασὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ ῥίζῃ τοῦ λόφου προχεόμενον δυσωδ‹ες καὶ θρόμβους ἔχον ὕδωρ ῥεῖν· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ὀζόλας καλεῖσθαι τὸ ἔθνος. Cf. Antig. *Hist. Mir.* 117: Μυρσίλος δὲ ὁ Λέσβιος Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀζόλας τῆς ἐπιδημίου ἐπωνυμίας τετυχηκέναι, ὅτι τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν τὸ ὕδωρ ὄζει καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Ταφίου καλουμένου ὄρους· καὶ ῥεῖν αὐτόθεν εἰς θάλασσαν ὥσπερ πύον, τεθάφθαι δ' ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ Νέσσον τὸν Κένταυρον, ὃν Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινεν. *In margine haec, σημειοῦ ὅτι τὸ πήγανον ἦν τι φάρμακον.* These are the springs called Βρωμανερά. See Pouq. *Voy.* iv. 8. They do not now at all answer to their ancient repute.

[3] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* xv. See p. 329.

[4] Str. p. 427: Αἰτωλικὸν πολίχνιον.

[5] *Ibid.*: ἔστι δὲ νῦν Αἰτωλῶν Φιλίππου προσκρίναντος.

So also Pliny[1] and Pomponius Mela[2] are speaking, whether they know it or not, of the period of the supremacy of the League in reckoning Naupaktos to Aetolia; they are following Skylax, who of course gives the state of things as it was after 338 B.C.[3]

(3) Lastly, in his thrice repeated statement that Antirrhion formed the boundary between Lokris and Aetolia, Strabo is referring to the arrangement existing in Roman times[4]. The same is true of Ptolemy, when he assigns Molykreion to Lokris[5].

It is clear, then, that before the extension of the League obliterated all boundaries the Aetolians did not possess a foot of ground east of Mount Klókova. This coast was all originally Lokrian, the Corinthians and Athenians being temporarily in possession of its western section, together with the territory belonging to the neighbouring Aetolian city of Chalkis, during the greater part of the fifth century before our era.

The Ophioneis, therefore, were confined to the interior, north of the strip of Lokro-Athenian territory which stretched along the Gulf between the rivers Phídharis and Mórnos. It is, of course, impossible to trace the exact line of demarcation, but the geographical features are sufficiently strongly marked to give us a fairly probable frontier. We see how closely the Mórnos and the Phídharis approach each other at the angle formed by each of them in the second change of direction, —from south to south-west in the case of the Phídharis, from south-west to south in the case of the Mórnos. We imagine that the Ophioneis occupied the whole of the intervening district, behind Mount Rhígani.

On the west, the Phídharis itself must have constituted the frontier of Ophioneia. It is possible that the order of narra-

[1] Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 3: Sed in Corinthiaco sinu oppida Aetoliae Naupactum Pylene.

[2] Pomp. Mela, *De Choro.* ii. 43: in Aetolia Naupactos.

[3] Skyl. § 35.

[4] Str. p. 336: τὸ δ' Ἀντίρριον ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Αἰτωλίας καὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος. *Ibid.*: εἶθ' ἑξῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀντίρριον Αἰτωλοί. *Id.* p. 460: τὸ Ἀντίρριον τὸ τῆς Αἰτωλίας ὅριον καὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος.

[5] Ptol. *Geogr.* iii. 14. 3. He also gives Antirrhion (Ἀντίρριον ἄκρον), as well as Μολυκρία, to Lokris.

tion observed by Strabo[1] points to this conclusion as to the limits of the tribe. After saying that the Euenos (Phídharis) rises among the Bomieis (a section of the Ophioneis), he passes at once to the maritime plain; from which we might infer that no tribe other than that of the Ophioneis, with its various subdivisions, interposed between the two points[2]. A more valuable argument is the conjecture of Leake, that the name of the Ophioneis still survives in the word Phídharis, which is apparently derived from *φίδι*, the Romaic form of *ὄφις* (snake)[3].

There is no positive evidence from which to derive the line followed by the northern frontier of Ophioneia. As the Euenos rose among the Bomieis, we shall probably not be far wrong if we imagine all the country round the head waters of the Phídharis within the angle between the Oxyá range and Mount Vardhúsi to have belonged to the Ophioneis; but there is nothing in our authorities to indicate how far they extended to the west, or whether in this direction they were confined to the left bank of the river. It is tempting to assume that the gorge of the Phídharis cutting across the country from east to west formed the northern limit of their territory; equally tempting, and perhaps more probable, is a frontier formed by the eastern continuation of Arabo-képhalon towards the Oxyá mountains. This would agree with the connexion which we have pointed out as existing to-day between the villages on that watershed and those of Krávari[4]. Wherever exactly the frontiers of the Ophioneis fell, their land was, in the main, co-extensive with the canton of Krávari, which is severed so curiously from the other cantons of modern Aetolia.

[1] Str. p. 451: *ὁ δ' Εὔηνος ποταμὸς ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ Βωμιέων τῶν ἐν Ὀφιεῦσιν Αἰτωλικῷ ἔθνει . . . ῥεῖ δ' οὐ διὰ τῆς Κουρητικῆς, κ.τ.λ.*

[2] I let the argument stand, as I find that it has been used by Becker, *Diss.* iii. 15: but it assumes for Strabo a greater measure of completeness than I can credit.

[3] Leake, N. G. ii. 625. The Ophioneis are, therefore, the 'Snake-men'; certainly an indication of totemism. Cf. the inscription from Kryonerú, p. 199. Ophis is known as the name of a river. See Paus. viii. 8. 4. Thucydides uses the form Ophioneis, but the name of the tribe appears in the shorter form Ophieis in Strabo, pp. 451, 465. And, in fact, from the inscriptions quoted on p. 76, *note* 8, the form *Ὀφιεύς* would seem to have been that usually employed, at any rate during the second century B. C.

[4] See p. 23.

It is well known that we can speak about the Ophioneis in greater detail than about any other Aetolian tribe. Thucydides has recorded the names of two of their minor cantons, —those of the Bomieis and the Kallieis,—though without giving us any information as to their relative position [1]. From other sources, however, we can approximately fix their abode.

Having failed to force Thermopylai in 279 B.C., Brennos detached a strong force to effect a diversion in Aetolia, hoping thereby to cause the Aetolian contingent to withdraw from the defence of the pass. Orestorios and Komboutis led forty thousand men back across the Spercheios, and then westwards along the valley, until they dashed suddenly into Aetolia against the capital of the Kallieis [2]. The object of the Galatai was to fall upon the Aetolian land as soon and as effectively as possible. We may therefore conclude that the territory of the unfortunate Kallieis lay nearest, both to the pass of Thermopylai and to the Thessalian border. The requirements of the case are met exactly if we place the tribe upon Mount Oita and the spurs of Kióna overlooking Doris. Whether it was the Kallieis or the Apodotoi that occupied the valley of the Méga must be left to conjecture. My own view is that the two tribes came into contact in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Lidhoríki, the Apodotoi being confined to the left bank of the river [3].

Adopting the ordinary phraseology [4], we have spoken of Mount Oita as the home of the Kallieis, but this does not seem strictly accurate. The Kallieis appear to have given the name Kallidromos to that part of the range which belonged to them. A certain amount of confusion seems to have existed even in ancient times in connexion with Kallidromos. We have two statements about it, in the pages of Livy and Strabo. The former describes the range of Oita

[1] Thuc. iii. 96: *οἱ ἔσχατοι Ὀφιονέων . . . Βωμιῆς καὶ Καλλιῆς.*

[2] Paus. x. 22. 3: *οἱ ὀπίσω κατὰ τοῦ Σπερχειοῦ τὰς γεφύρας καὶ αὖθις διὰ Θεσσαλίας ὁδεύσαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν. καὶ τὰ ἐς Καλλιέας Κομβοῦτις οἱ ἐργασάμενοι καὶ Ὀρεστόριος ἦσαν.*

[3] This view is necessarily connected with my theory of the historical relations of the components of the Aetolian name, and cannot be further discussed here.

[4] *E.g.* Bursian, *Geogr.* i. 142.

thus[1]:—'These mountains divide Greece in the middle, just as Italy is divided by the ridge of the Apennines . . . They extend from Leukas and the western sea through Aetolia to the other sea on the east, and are so rough and precipitous that not only troops, but even ordinary travellers, find difficulty in crossing them by the few paths they afford. At the eastern extremity they are called Oita, and their highest summit Kallidromon, at the foot of which, towards the Maliac gulf, there is a pass . . . called Pylai, and sometimes Thermopylai.' Strabo has the same account[2]. 'Oita,' he says, 'extends from Thermopylai and the east as far as the Ambrakian gulf in the west. We may describe it as cutting at right angles the range that stretches from Parnassos to Pindos and the northern tribes. That part of it which inclines towards Thermopylai is called Oita: it is two hundred stades in length, craggy and lofty, reaching its greatest elevation at Thermopylai, where it runs up in a peak, and ends in sheer precipices towards the sea[3]. A narrow passage is left, through which one may enter Lokris from Thessaly by the coast route. This passage goes by the names of Pylai, the Pass, and Thermopylai,—the last name being derived from the neighbouring hot springs, which are sacred to Herakles. The mountain above the pass is Kallidromon. Sometimes this name is applied to the remainder, that is to say to that part which runs through Aetolia and Akarnania to the Ambrakian gulf[4].'

It is clear from the above passages that Kallidromos, as understood in the more restricted sense, corresponds to the modern Sarómata, the ridge that extends above Thermopylai between Spartiá (Mount Knemis) and Katavóthra (Mount Oita). Both Livy and Strabo are in error in regarding the summit above the pass as the highest point of the

[1] Livy, xxxvi. 15: ab Leucate . . . per Aetoliam . . . tendens. Extremos ad orientem montes Oetam vocant, quorum quod altissimum est Callidromon appellatur.

[2] Str. p. 428. The origin of the two descriptions is clear.

[3] *τούτου δὴ τὸ μὲν πρὸς Θερμοπύλας νενευκὸς μέρος Οἴτη καλεῖται σταδίων διακοσίων τὸ μῆκος, τραχὺ καὶ ὑψηλόν, ὑψηλότατον δὲ κατὰ τὰς Θερμοπύλας· κορυφοῦται γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τελευτᾷ πρὸς ὀξεῖς καὶ ἀποτόμους μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης κρημνούς.*

[4] *τὸ δ' ὑπερκείμενον ὄρος Καλλίδρομον· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τὸ δι' Αἰτωλίας καὶ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας διῆκον μέχρι τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου Καλλίδρομον προσαγορεύουσι.*

range. The stupendous precipices called Katavóthra, above Hypáti, are much higher than those overhanging Thermopylai; and Mount Patriótiko, the loftiest summit in the Katavóthra range, is nearly a thousand mètres higher than Sarómata[1]. We see from Strabo that the name Oita was strictly limited in its proper application; the two hundred stades assigned to it is very nearly the distance in a straight line between the pass of Thermopylai and the valley of the Vistrítsa. It is easy to understand how the hills above the pass should have come to bear a separate name. They are severed from the chain of the Katavóthra mountains by the gorge[2] of the Asopos (the modern Karvunariá), so that their most intimate connexion is not with that range but with the mountain country at the head of the Kephisos valley.

Oita seems, therefore, to have been in reality not the general name of the whole range running eastwards from Pindos to the Maliac gulf, but that applied to the striking precipices overhanging the plain of the Spercheios between the rivers Vistrítsa and Karvunariá. The general name of the range, lying behind those precipices, was Kallidromos[3]. Naturally, both names were often used in a manner not strictly accurate. Oita was extended so as to include the whole mountain region lying between the Spercheios and Kephisos valleys eastwards as far as the Epiknemidian Lokrians. Similarly, the name Kallidromos was, on the one hand, unduly extended to the whole central line of mountains between Leukas and Thermopylai; and, on the other hand, unduly restricted to the summits immediately above the pass itself[4]. Between the name of the mountain Kallidromos and

[1] Cf. Leake, N. G. ii. 9 fol.

[2] Cf. Herod. vii. 199: *διασφὰξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχῖνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει.*

[3] Ptolemy is therefore strictly correct in saying that the Euenos rises in Kallidromos. Dionysios, son of Kalliphon, who says that it rises in Pindos, is also not far wrong, though it is scarcely justifiable to extend the name Pindos so widely. See p. 93.

[4] Cf. Leake, N. G. ii. 63 fol. It is in this third and narrowest sense that the name is used by Livy (xxxvi. 16): duo milia Heracleae substiterunt; duo trifariam divisa Callidromum et Rhoduntiam et Tichiunta—haec nomina cacuminibus sunt—occupavere. We learn from what immediately follows that these heights were fortified (castella Aetolorum). See also App. *Syr.* 17 fol.

that of the tribe of the Kallieis there is evidently a connexion, which perhaps survives in the modern name of the great mountain Kaliakúdha, the central point of the ancient Kallidromos as used in its widest sense.

With respect to the boundaries of the Kallieis towards the east, south, and north, we have already said all that is possible[1]. On the west of their territory a somewhat greater precision is attainable. The long line of Mount Vardhúsi must have separated them effectually from the rest of the Ophioneis, including the subdivision of the Bomieis. At the southern end of Vardhúsi, however, the Kallieis, if we correctly assume them to have occupied the Méga valley, would come into contact with the main tribe of the Ophioneis[2].

We have already seen that the Bomieis inhabited the country round the sources of the Phídharis[3]. It agrees best with the configuration of the district to imagine that the tribe extended southwards to the crest of the watershed between the head waters of the Phídharis and the Kókkinos. On this ridge, which runs south-west from Vardhúsi to the Vlachovúnia, the Bomieis would be conterminous with the main tribe of the Ophioneis. They would naturally spread westwards along the valley of the Phídharis, between Mounts Trékuri and Ardhíni on the south and the continuation of the Araboképhalon on the north. From the Oxyá mountains, therefore, to the confluence of the Vasilikó with the Phídharis, the Bomieis were conterminous with the Eurytanes.

We need not conclude from the words of Stephanus[4] that the country of the Bomieis was exceptionally mountainous; nor indeed would such conclusion be in accordance with fact,

[1] See pp. 62, 67.

[2] For the sake of completeness only I notice here the old error about the Aetolian Tripolis. Stephanus writes: Καλλίαι, πόλις μία τῆς ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ τριπόλεως. We must correct Αἰτωλίᾳ to Ἀρκαδίᾳ. The copyist had in his mind Paus. viii. 27. 4: προσεγένετο δὲ καὶ Τρίπολις ὀνομαζομένη, Καλλία καὶ Δίποινα καὶ Νώνακρις. The statement in Stephanus cannot be saved by enumerating the three tribes of Aetolia as members of the Tripolis, for Aetolia was a union of Tribes, not of Cities, to which latter union alone the term Tripolis is rightly applied. Nor, again, can we hold the Tripolis to have been constituted by the Ophieis, Bomieis, and Kallieis, as it is evident that the last two were merely sections of the Ophieis.

[3] See p. 66.

[4] Βωμοί, λόφοι Αἰτωλίας· οἱ κατοικοῦντες Βωμιεῖς.

unless they covered a much greater area than we have assigned to them. It is also impossible to bring the name of the tribe into any connexion with the myth of Herakles[1]. The legendary scene of that hero's death was near Herakleia, perhaps outside the limits of Aetolia proper; at best it would be among the Kallieis. The only probable explanation is to regard the name as originating in some fancied resemblance between the hills and altars. It is true that in the land of the Bomieis we find semi-isolated conical heights which might have suggested the comparison[2]. Nothing, however, is more difficult than the attempt to recover for a moment that power of perceiving likeness between widely different objects which seems to be a prerogative of youth. The imagination of later generations is less naïve and lively, so that resemblances once striking and obvious can no longer be perceived. It requires a special effort in order to understand and delight in the imagery of poetry belonging to a race not our own, and distinctions of nationality find expression to no slight extent in the choice of epithets. Instances in Greece of names that had their origin in this delicate feeling for resemblances which for ever escape our perception are numerous. The Akontion ridge above Orchomenos in Boiotia, the Harma in Parnes, Mount Othrys in Thessaly, the Kynoskephalai hills upon which Philip of Macedon suffered defeat, are only a few examples. The explanation in Stephanus, therefore, adds nothing to our knowledge of the country, though it may preserve to us an Aetolian term, and possibly a glimpse into Aetolian mythology.

[1] Cf. Kruse, *Hellas*. ii. 229.

[2] This is owing to the fact that the tract inhabited by the tribe is the southern extension of the eastern sandstone belt, between Vardhúsi and the limestone hills of central Krávari. Grasberger, in his *Studien zu den Griechischen Ortsnamen*, pp. 116, 155, renders οἱ Βωμοί, 'der Stufenberg.'

CHAPTER VIII.

The Aetolian Tribes.

II.

It is evident that the Messenians represented the Eurytanes as inhabiting the country beyond the Apodotoi and the Ophioneis. In his sketch of the proposed system of Athenian operations,—first the subjugation of the Apodotoi, and then the campaign against the Ophioneis,—we notice that Thucydides does not mention the third tribe. It is probable that the omission is not without design. It may be an intimation that Demosthenes had begun to realize the magnitude of his task, and to realize also that the conquest of Eurytania was not essential to the completion of his scheme of invading Boiotia. It would be strange if so capable a man could have remained long in the dark as to the real necessities of the case. His design was, for that time, a bold one, possibly rash and unfeasible, but it was essential to its success that he should secure the passes into Doris and Phokis by the conquest of the Apodotoi and the Ophioneis, who occupied the mountains above them in the west and north. From the Eurytanes there was nothing to fear, so far as their geographical position was concerned; they were in nowise contiguous to the route of the expedition. The real danger, the rock upon which the Athenian general made shipwreck, was the fact that the political organization of these supposed savages supplemented the natural advantages of their mountain strongholds in a way that rendered them invincible.

The results reached in the preceding Chapter make it clear that the Eurytanes must be placed to the north and north-

west of the Ophioneis. The Oxyá range, running north-west from Vardhúsi to Velúchi, formed their frontier on this side; for the Ainianes lay upon its eastern slopes and in the valley of the Spercheios. So much can be said with certainty; but in finding the limits of the Eurytanes on the north, west, and south, we are left to conjecture. The area that they inhabited must have been considerable, for there is no doubt that their name bore direct reference to their territorial dispersion[1]. We may, however, perhaps suspect its genuineness as an Aetolian ethnical term[2].

We have a long list of peoples more or less closely connected with Aetolia in the north. Pliny, for example, mentions the Athamanes, Tymphaei, Ephyri, Aenienses, Perrhaebi, Dolopes, Maraces, and Atraces. He calls all these 'Aetolian[3],' but that could only be justified, if at all, by supposing him to refer to the time at which the power of the League was at its height. Topographically, at least four of the tribes in his list have no connexion with Aetolia. From Strabo we get the tribes on the west,—the Amphilochoi, Aperantoi, and Agraioi,—with respect to all of which there is the difficulty of distinguishing whether they are real divisions of the Aetolian name, or only tribes added by conquest. Of most of these tribes on the north and west little more than the name has survived, and it is hopeless to attempt to fix their habitation in any but the vaguest manner. They appear to have been offshoots from the people of Thessaly or of Epiros; the Eurytanes themselves seem not to have been without a strain of Epirot blood.

A careful examination of our authorities soon reveals the fact that the tribes on the north of Aetolia reduce themselves to four[4], which are generally mentioned in groups of

[1] In spite of what we read in Tzetzes on Lyk. *Kass. l.* 799: *Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν ἐν Ἰθακησίων πολιτείᾳ, Εὐρυτᾶνας ἔθνος εἶναι τῆς Αἰτωλίας, ὀνομασθὲν ἀπὸ Εὐρύτου, παρ' οἷς εἶναι μαντεῖον Ὀδυσσέως. Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Νίκανδρός φησιν ἐν Αἰτωλικοῖς.*

[2] See p. 87, *note* 3.

[3] Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 3: Aetolorum populi.

[4] Cf. Skymn. Ch. 614:—

Τῇ Θετταλίᾳ δ' ἐσθ' ὅμορος Ἀθαμανία,
Δολόπων τε Περραιβῶν τε συνορίζοντ' ἔθνη
τά τ' Αἰνιάνων.

two or more. They are the Ainianes, Dolopes, Perrhaiboi, and Athamanes[1].

The position of the Ainianes[2] is known. They occupied the western end of the Spercheios valley, their boundary falling somewhere between the modern towns of Hypáti and Lamia[3]. Although their territory did not stretch as far east as the coast, Polybios once calls the Maliac gulf Ainianian[4].

The Dolopes appear to have come next to the Ainianes, towards the north-west, among the mountains of Pindos, and behind Mount Typhrestos[5]. The eastern neighbours of the Dolopes would thus be the Thessalians of Phthiotis. Homer, therefore, says of Phoinix that as an exile he 'reigned over the Dolopes in the uttermost part of Phthia[6].' With this situation agree the words of Dionysios, son of Kalliphon, who says that the Aetolians 'dwell south of the Dolopes[7].' Stephanus also rightly speaks of the Dolopes as conterminous with the Thessalians[8]. Ptolemy, however, makes them neighbours of the Epirot tribe of the Kassopaioi, who lived on the coast of the Ionian sea[9]. The Dolopes, there-

[1] The names occur in Strabo in the following combinations :—

Athamanes + Ainianes, p. 427.
„ + Perrhaiboi, p. 442.
„ „ + Dolopes, p. 440.
„ „ „ + Ainianes, p. 450.
Perrhaiboi + Ainianes, pp. 61, 442.
„ + Dolopes, pp. 434, 437.

[2] Hom. *Il.* ii. 749: Τῷ δ' Ἐνιῆνες ἕποντο μενεπτόλεμοί τε Περαιβοί κ.τ.λ.

[3] Cf. Herod. vii. 198: ποταμὸς Σπερχειὸς ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων. Thuc. v. 51: Ἡρακλεώταις τοῖς ἐν Τραχῖνι μάχη ἐγένετο πρὸς Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Δόλοπας καὶ Μηλιέας καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τινας. Strabo, p. 427: τοῖς δ' Ἐπικνημιδίοις Αἰνιᾶνες συνεχεῖς οἱ τὴν Οἴτην ἔχοντες. See also Leake, N. G. ii. 21.

[4] Pol. x. 42: ὁ Αἰνιὰν κόλπος.

[5] Str. p. 430: ἔχει δ' ἡ μὲν Φθιῶτις τὰ νότια τὰ παρὰ τὴν Οἴτην ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαλιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ Πυλαϊκοῦ μέχρι τῆς Δολοπίας καὶ τῆς Πίνδου διατείνοντα. *Id.* p. 433: ὁμόρου δὲ τῷ Τυφρηστῷ καὶ τοῖς Δόλοψιν. It is true that in this same section Strabo speaks of Typhrestos as belonging to Dryopia: τὰς πηγὰς ἔχοντος (*sc.* τοῦ Σπερχειοῦ) ἐκ Τυφρηστοῦ Δρυοπικοῦ ὄρους. But Δρυοπικοῦ must be changed to Δολοπικοῦ: Cf. Bursian, *Geogr.* i. 87, *note* 5. For the connexion between Dolopia and Pindos, see also Strabo, pp. 432, 434, 437, 440, 450. Δολοπία (Δόλοπες) καὶ ἡ Πίνδος is the regular expression.

[6] Hom. *Il.* ix. 484: Ναΐον δ' ἐσχατιὴν Φθίης, Δολόπεσσιν ἀνάσσων.

[7] Dion. *l.* 62: οὗτοι Δολόπων οἰκοῦσι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν.

[8] Steph. Byz. Δόλοπες. Ἔθνος Θεσσαλῶν ἔγγιστα.

[9] Ptol. *Geogr.* iii. 13. 6: Κασσωπαίων, ὑπὲρ οὓς εἰσὶ Δόλοπες.

fore, must have been pushed gradually westwards; or else Ptolemy loosely uses their name to embrace all the intervening tribes, owing to their general similarity in language and status.

Strabo conjoins the Athamanes and the Perrhaiboi as being both of them next to Aetolia on the north[1]. The Perrhaiboi, however, cannot possibly be considered neighbours of the Aetolians: their habitation was on the Titaresios and the Peneios in northern Thessaly, and on the southern confines of Macedonia near Mount Olympos[2], where, even in the most flourishing days of the League, they could hardly be spoken of as conterminous with the Aetolians. It is true that, according to Strabo, emigrants from this people had removed to the western slopes of Pindos, the border-land between the Athamanes and the Dolopes[3]. These *μετανάσται ἄνθρωποι*, however, never rose to any importance, and seem in fact soon to have been absorbed by the warlike tribes surrounding them: at least they are never mentioned in any of the military operations of which this part of the country was the theatre. Still, it is probable that Strabo, in speaking of the Perrhaiboi as neighbours of the Aetolians, was thinking of this offshoot from the main body.

The Athamanes gained some measure of importance in the history of the later years of Greek independence[4]. On the east, in the chain of Pindos, they came into contact with the Thessalians; on the west they extended into Epiros[5]. This is proved by Livy's account of the Roman advance from the coast into Thessaly against Perseus[6]. They

[1] Str. p. 450: *ὑπέρκεινται δ' ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ καὶ τοῖς προσβορείοις μέρεσι τῶν μὲν Ἀκαρνάνων Ἀμφίλοχοι, τούτων δὲ Δόλοπες καὶ ἡ Πίνδος, τῶν δ' Αἰτωλῶν Περραιβοί τε καὶ Ἀθαμᾶνες καὶ Αἰνιάνων τι μέρος τῶν τὴν Οἴτην ἐχόντων.*

[2] Str. pp. 440–442. Cf. Homer, *Il.* ii. 749 fol. See Leake, N. G. iv. 311.

[3] Str. p. 440: *οἱ μὲν οὖν Περραιβοὶ . . . εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν ἀπανέστησαν οἱ πλείους τὴν περὶ Πίνδον καὶ Ἀθαμᾶνας καὶ Δόλοπας.* *Id.* p. 442: *τὸ δὲ πολὺ μέρος εἰς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθαμανίαν ὄρη καὶ τὴν Πίνδον ἐξέπεσε· νυνὶ δὲ μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἴχνος σώζεται.* Cf. Leake, N. G. iv. 213.

[4] Str. p. 427: *Ἀθαμᾶνες δ' ὕστατοι τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν εἰς ἀξίωμα προαχθέντες, ἤδη τῶν ἄλλων ἀπειρηκότων, καὶ μετ' Ἀμυνάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν κατασκευασάμενοι.*

[5] Cf. Leake, N. G. iv. 212.

[6] Livy, xlii. 55.

marched first through Epiros, and then through Athamania to Gomphoi, which fortress commanded the entrance into Athamania from the side of Thessaly[1]. On the south their territory extended to the frontiers of Amphilochia and Dolopia[2]. Livy tells us that Philip gave Zakynthos to King Amynander as the price of a passage with his army through Athamania into Upper Aetolia[3]. From Ptolemy we get the idea that the Athamanes lay somewhat to the north-east of the Amphilochoi[4].

The tribes on the west of Aetolia form a triad, constituted by the Amphilochoi, Aperantoi, and Agraioi.

The Amphilochoi, on the west and south-west, came down to the shores of the Ambrakian gulf. On the north Athamania and Epiros, on the north-east Dolopia, were conterminous with them. Akarnania fell to the south, and the land of the Agraioi to the east and south-east. The difficulty with regard to this tribe is not one of geography. Polybios seems to reckon them as true Aetolians. In the conference of Philip with Flamininus and the Roman allies at Nikaia, in 198 B.C., Philip exclaims in anger to the Aetolians: 'Why, most of the Aetolians themselves are not Greeks; for neither the Agraioi nor the Apodotoi nor the Amphilochoi are counted as Greek[5].' Polybios himself speaks of the Ambrakian gulf as 'extending a long way into the interior of Aetolia[6],' which would seem to imply that Amphilochia was part of Aetolia[7].

It is impossible to accept the Amphilochoi as an Aetolian tribe on such slender evidence. The mention of the Apodotoi sounds strangely after the long silence since the days of Thucydides. It serves to prove that the old cantons were still kept up in some way alongside the League[8]. If the

[1] Livy, xxxi. 41: Gomphos ... imminet Athamania huic urbi. Leake, N. G. iv. 522.

[2] Str. p. 450.

[3] Livy, xxxvi. 31: eam mercedem Amynandro dederat, ut per Athamaniam ducere exercitum in superiorem partem Aetoliae liceret.

[4] Ptol. iii. 13. 7: *Ἀμφιλόχων, ὧν εἰσὶν Ἀθαμᾶνες ἀνατολικώτεροι.*

[5] Pol. xviii. 5: *τὸ γὰρ τῶν Ἀγραῶν ἔθνος καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀποδοτῶν ... οὐκ ἔστιν Ἑλλάς.*

[6] *Id.* v. 5: *εἰς τοὺς μεσογαίους ἀνήκει τόπους τῆς Αἰτωλίας.*

[7] Or the words *τῆς Αἰτωλίας* are used loosely, because some part of Akarnania was subject to the League.

[8] Cf. *Sammlung-Collitz*, No. 1862 = W.–F. 197: *ὃν ἐπρίατο παρὰ Πολεμάρχου*

Apodotoi are to be regarded as non-Greek, the Ophioneis, and certainly the Eurytanes, must go under the same category; and thus we get back to the old worthless tradition, which was jealous of allowing the backward peoples of Western Greece to call themselves Hellenes[1]. The truth is that Philip, or Polybios for him, used the first names that came to his tongue,—hence the alliteration.

An expression used in the only other place in which Polybios mentions the Amphilochoi does, in fact, directly contradict the supposed implication of the passage above quoted. In 191 B.C. Philip, nominally in the interests of Rome, overran the districts of Athamania, Dolopia, and Aperantia[2]; but in 189 B.C., when the attention of Rome was diverted to the campaign against Antiochos in Asia, the Aetolians seized the opportunity to restore Amynander to his kingdom, and to 'annex once more' Aperantia and Amphilochia, in order to secure themselves against attack from the west[3]. In Amphilochia popular feeling was with the Aetolians, as was also the case in Aperantia. They next marched into Dolopia, where 'a show of resistance and of keeping loyal to Philip[4]' was made, but soon the Dolopes also threw in their adherence to the League. Subsequently, we find Philip intriguing in Rome against the Aetolians, 'looking upon himself as wronged by their having taken Athamania and Dolopia from him[5].'

It is significant that Philip confines his pretensions to Athamania and Dolopia. It was, in fact, possible to make out some sort of case in defence of his claim to those two

τοῦ Τεισάνδρου Ὀφιέος, date 176/5 B.C.; and No. 1978=W-F. 313, where the principal is Ἀγέστρατος Ὀφιεύς. This is dated by the second Strategia of Thoas=193 B.C. Both these inscriptions come from Delphi.

[1] Cf. Str. p. 449.

[2] Livy, xxxvi. 33: Inde Dolopiam et Aperantiam et Perrhaebiae quasdam civitates recipit. *Id.* 34: Philippum autem . . . non solum urbes sed tot jam gentes, Athamaniam Perrhaebiam Aperantiam Dolopiam, sibi adjunxisse. See also *id.* xxxix. 28, 34. Plut. *Flam.* xv.: Ἀγομένων δὲ καὶ φερομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος τοῦτο μὲν Δολόπων καὶ Μαγνήτων, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀθαμάνων καὶ Ἀπεραντῶν.

[3] Livy, xxxviii. 3. Pol. xxi. 25: οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ νομίσαντες ἔχειν εὐφυῆ καιρὸν πρὸς τὸ τὴν Ἀμφιλοχίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀπεραντίαν ἀνακτήσασθαι κ.τ.λ.

[4] *Ibid.*: τηρήσαντες τὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον πίστιν.

[5] Pol. xxi. 31: Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ δοκῶν ἀδίκως ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν Ἀθαμανίαν καὶ τὴν Δολοπίαν κ.τ.λ.

districts; but with regard to Amphilochia and Aperantia it was quite otherwise. Livy, in his account of the same events, expressly says of the Dolopes that they were under Philip's sway, never having belonged to the League, whereas the Amphilochoi had formerly been members of it[1]. While the Macedonian power had crept gradually southwards, absorbing more or less effectually the districts that lay to the north of the Aetolian frontier, no permanent Macedonian conquest had been made on the western borderland of Aetolia. Ambrakos had indeed been captured by Philip in 219 B. C., as well as Oiniadai, but neither place for Macedonia: the former was given to Epiros, the latter to Akarnania[2]. Philip would only have weakened his own case by putting in a claim to Aperantia and Amphilochia on the ground of his recent temporary occupation of those districts,—a claim which no diplomatic quibbling could substantiate[3].

Amphilochia and Aperantia are upon exactly the same footing,—both of them old Aetolian conquests, neither of them an integral and original part of the Aetolian nation. Thus the expression 'once more annex,' used by Polybios of the Aetolian conquest of the two districts in 189 B. C., is literally in accordance with the facts of the case. Doubtless the ethnical kinship of the two tribes with their conquerors made their submission to the League easy and natural. Nevertheless, both Amphilochia and Aperantia had originally started on an independent political career,—and had failed, so that in the eyes of the politician they had become practically part and parcel of Aetolia. That is how it comes about that Polybios can speak of the Ambrakian gulf as

[1] Livy, xxxviii. 3: Amphilochia recepta, nam fuerat quondam Aetolorum. On the other hand: Dolopes numquam Aetolorum fuerant, Philippi erant. Cf. *id.* xxxiii. 34: Magnetes, et Perrhaebi, et Dolopes quoque liberi pronuntiati, *sc.* by Flamininus.

[2] Pol. iv. 63, 65.

[3] Philip would not forget how he had been ordered by Glabrio to retire from Lamia,—a plain hint that he must not overvalue his services to the Roman cause. Cf. Livy, xxxix. 28: Bello Aetolico Lamiam oppugnare jussus a consule M'. Acilio, quum diu fatigatus ibi proeliis operibusque essem, transcendentem me jam muros a capta prope urbe revocavit consul, et abducere copias inde coegit. Ad hujus solatium injuriae permissum est, ut Thessaliae Perrhaebiaeque et Athamanum reciperem quaedam castella magis, quam urbes.

extending into the interior of Aetolia, and that Philip's angry taunt to Phaineas, the Aetolian Strategos, is not wide of the mark; for the Amphilochoi were politically as much Aetolian as the Apodotoi. Possibly in race also they were identical; but it does not follow that the Amphilochoi, as well as the Apodotoi, formed one of the Aetolian tribes. Polybios himself, as we have seen, furnishes sufficient evidence to enable us to contradict this wrong inference and to assert that not only the Amphilochoi, but the Aperantoi also, fell outside the circle of genuine Aetolian cantons, in spite of their actual political, and problematic ethnical, relationship to them.

As regards the geographical position of the Aperantoi we should be at a loss, were it not that we possess an account of the bold expedition across the Pindos undertaken in the winter of 170–169 B.C. by Perseus, king of Macedon. Livy, reproducing Polybios, gives us the stages of that brilliant and dangerous march [1]. After leaving Mount Kition, Perseus came on the second day to the temple of Zeus, called Nikaion. Then a long stage brought him to the river Arachthos. After crossing it he joined forces with Archidamos, the Strategos of the Aetolian League, and encamped on the Aetolian frontier [2]. Next day he placed his camp on the river Inachos, and then advanced to Stratos, only to find that Popilius had thrown himself into the town and baulked him of his prey. Still hoping that the inhabitants would join him, Perseus made a demonstration on the heights above the city, but seeing that resistance was offered he fell back behind the Petitaros, and encamped five miles from Stratos. Then, being in need of supplies, and feeling that the enemy were in dangerous proximity, he retreated into the district of Aperantia, where he was received with enthusiasm [3].

It is evident that the king's line of advance lay through the country on the west of the Acheloos. Four points in it

[1] Livy, xliii. 21 fol.

[2] *Ibid.*: obvium Archidamum principem Aetolorum habuit; eo die ad finem agri Aetoli castra posuit. Next day he reached Stratos, and encamped 'prope Inachum.'

[3] *Ibid.*: Territus in Aperantiam castra movit; Aperanti eum propter Archidami magnam in ea gente gratiam consensu omnium acceperunt.

concern us here:—the 'ager Aetolus' where Archidamos awaited the expedition, the Inachos, the Petitaros, and the district of Aperantia.

The 'ager Aetolus' is nothing more nor less than Agraia, as we shall find when we come to treat of that district. The Inachos must be the modern Bjákos, the Sýndekno of Leake. As to the Petitaros, no serious attempt, so far as I know, has ever been made to reconcile the narrative of Livy with the hypothesis which identifies that stream with the modern Zérvas on the *east* of the Acheloos. Nor is such reconciliation possible. As Leake long ago pointed out, the Petitaros is the stream flowing by Kriekúki, a few miles north of Stratos [1]. The enthusiasm with which Perseus was received in Aperantia shows that he had not until that moment approached the district: it could hardly have been avoided had it lain west of the Acheloos. We therefore assign Aperantia to the east of the river.

Thus all becomes clear. The hostility displayed by the garrison of Stratos made it desirable for Perseus to put the Acheloos between himself and the enemy. And his shortest and safest line of retreat lay east of the Acheloos. He therefore withdrew northwards behind the Petitaros, to the friendly territory of the Agraeis. In the camp near the river a council of war was held, and, although Archidamos wished him to remain, Perseus followed the advice of his staff, and continued his retreat into Aperantia, crossing the Acheloos at some point between the river of Kriekúki and the Sýndekno. This operation was without risk for the Macedonians, as they were crossing on friendly territory and were covered by the forces of Archidamos.

The region on the east of the Acheloos to which we assign the Aperantoi possesses well-defined natural boundaries. On the south it extends to the line of the river Zérvas. On the west it is bounded by the Acheloos; on the east by the great ridge of Kútupas and Kynigú. Only on the north is doubt possible as to the frontier line. The Agalianós river cannot be adopted, for Aperantia must have been something more than a narrow strip along the left bank of the Acheloos. No inference as to the size of the district can be drawn from the fact that Perseus detached only eight

[1] See p. 176 fol.



PTERI MOUNTAINS AND RIVER OF AGRAPHA, WITH THE BRIDGE OF MANOLIS.

hundred men to assist Archidamos in its defence[1]. It is at least fairly certain that northwards the Aperantoi extended to the borders of the Dolopes, for no intermediate tribe is mentioned in our authorities, and in the expedition of 189 B.C. the Aetolian army seems to pass straight from Aperantia to Dolopia[2]. This being so, the country north of the Agalianós, moderately fertile, and diversified with innumerable low shrub-clad hills excellent for pasturage, must have belonged to the Aperantoi rather than to the rude Dolopes, whose more appropriate abode was in the lofty mountains farther north. What, then, was to prevent those highlanders falling upon the lowlands of the Aperantoi and lifting their cattle? The ruins that thickly stud this part of Aetolia, and cause it to contrast so strongly with the surrounding districts, answer our question. In the absence of a natural line ready to hand an artificial frontier was adopted. Between the Acheloos and the river of Ágrapha there stretched a cordon of forts marking the frontier of Aperantia towards Dolopia on the northern verge of the lowlands at the foot of Pterí and the Agraphiote mountains[3].

Beyond the Acheloos, and separated by it from Aperantia, came, as we have seen, the land of the Agraioi, or Agraeis[4]. This tribe also, from the words of King Philip[5], might be supposed to have been genuine Aetolians: in fact they are so regarded by Strabo[6]. The conclusion found to be erroneous in the case of the Amphilochoi and the Aperantoi may well be suspected in the case of the Agraioi. If the two former have rightly been denied a place among the genuine tribes of Aetolia, the latter, who lay between them, could hardly make a more successful claim. Nor did they urge one, for

[1] Nor is anything to be gained from guesses at the etymology of the name. For a specimen, see Palmer, *Gr. Descr.* p. 433: 'Sed ex nominis etymo conjicio, eam (*sc.* Aperantia) fuisse ad Acheloum sitam, ubi jam incipit abundantior aquis fluere, ubi jam vadari non potest, nempe à privativo *a* et *περᾶν*—quasi dicas intransibilis (ut ita dicam).'

[2] See p. 77. [3] See p. 295.

[4] Cf. Steph. Byz.: *Ἀγραῖοι . . . τὸ θηλυκὸν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας, Ἀγραία· λέγονται δὲ καὶ Ἀγραεῖς, ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης.* So Thuc., iii. 106, has *τῆς Ἀγραίων*; but in chap. 111, *ἐς τὴν Ἀγραΐδα.*

[5] Pol. xviii. 5. See p. 76.

[6] Str. p. 451: *ἐν Ὀφιεῦσιν Αἰτωλικῷ ἔθνει, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Εὐρυτᾶνες καὶ Ἀγραῖοι καὶ Κουρῆτες καὶ ἄλλοι.* *Id.* pp. 449, 465.

at the period in which the Aetolians had already developed a working Federation the Agraioi were still under kingly rule[1]. It is quite futile to attempt to argue away this plainly asserted fact, or on the other hand to use it for the purpose of throwing light upon the early history of Aetolia.

Thucydides gives us valuable information as to the locality occupied by the Agraioi. In 426 B.C. Eurylochos and the Peloponnesians hastened across the Acheloos with the object of effecting a junction with the Ambrakiots. From the territory of Limnaia, now Karvassarás, at the south-eastern angle of the Ambrakian gulf, the army struck to the right: 'at last they left Akarnania and reached the friendly country of the Agraioi[2].' From the Agraia they crossed Mount Thyamos into the plain of the Amphilochian Argos. After their defeat at Olpai, 'the Peloponnesians escaped into the neighbouring country of Agraia, and were received by King Salynthios, who was their friend[3].' This makes it quite clear that the Agraia lay upon the right bank of the Acheloos. From the position to be assigned to the neighbouring states of Akarnania and Amphilochia, the Agraioi can only have occupied the large angle which the Acheloos makes between Sivísta and Prevéntza[4]. Thucydides, again, is equally clear about the course of the Acheloos, which 'rising in Mount Pindos, and passing first through the territory of the Dolopes, Agraioi, and Amphilochoi, and then through the Akarnanian plain,' flows by Stratos, and so to Oiniadai[5]. This seems to be the source of what Strabo says, that 'it flows from the north and Pindos to the south, through the Agraioi, an Aetolian tribe, and the Amphilochoi[6].'

The contention that the Agraeis extended also to the left bank of the Acheloos must be supported by stronger

[1] Thuc. iii. 111.

[2] Thuc. iii. 106: *καὶ ἐπέβησαν τῆς Ἀγραίων, οὐκέτι Ἀκαρνανίας, φιλίας δὲ σφίσι.*

[3] *Id.* chap. 111: *οἱ δ' ἄλλοι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ἀγραΐδα, ὅμορον οὖσαν, καὶ Σαλύνθιος αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀγραίων φίλος ὢν ὑπεδέξατο.*

[4] Cf. Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe.* p. 316.

[5] Thuc. ii. 102: *ὁ γὰρ Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ Πίνδου ὄρους διὰ Δολοπίας καὶ Ἀγραίων καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀκαρνανικοῦ πεδίου, ἄνωθεν μὲν παρὰ Στράτον πόλιν, ἐς θάλασσαν δ' ἐξιεὶς παρ' Οἰνιάδας, κ.τ.λ.*

[6] Str. p. 449: *μέσον ἔχοντες τὸν Ἀχελῷον ποταμὸν ῥέοντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων καὶ τῆς Πίνδου πρὸς νότον διά τε Ἀγραίων Αἰτωλικοῦ ἔθνους καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων.*

evidence than that tortured from these words. The Acheloos does actually flow, as Thucydides says, through Dolopia, Agraia, and Amphilochia; but it does not bisect them, as some interpreters would compel us to believe. It is, in fact, impossible to find room for that section of the Agraeis which is supposed to have dwelt upon the east of the river, except upon a clumsy and gratuitous hypothesis.

South of Aperantia, the only territory on the east of the Acheloos into which the Agraeis might have come is the tract intervening between the river Zérvas and the central plain of Aetolia, which last no one imagines to have belonged to them[1]. Now this strip was certainly in the possession of the Thestieis, who cannot be proved to have been a section of the Agraeis nor yet of the more widely extended Eurytanes. Most probably, as we shall see later, they belonged to neither people. There only remains for the supposed eastern Agraeis a position between the Aperantoi and the Dolopes, one which has as little in its favour as the former. The structure of the country makes it incredible that the dislocation that would ensue upon this theory ever existed. For clearly, unless the territory of the Aperantoi is to be reduced almost to the vanishing point, we can hardly locate the Agraeis elsewhere than in the district that we have supposed to belong to the Dolopes, and the Dolopes themselves must then be pushed farther to the north and towards the confines of Thessaly. The Agraioi would thus lie in a line stretching from north-east to south-west obliquely across the Acheloos; and, unless their two sections are to be separated from each other entirely, we must extend the Agraioi of the western bank much farther north than hitherto we imagined necessary. Unfortunately in so doing we are involved in contradiction to our best authority for the geography of this region, as it becomes impossible for the Acheloos to 'pass through' the territory of the Amphilochoi. A further objection is that, on such an arrangement, it would be hard to

[1] If we are right in changing the Δεριεῖς of Diod. xix. 67 into Ἀγραεῖς, we have an indication that this tribe made on that occasion an unsuccessful attempt to advance east of the Acheloos. Perhaps, if Diodoros had told us the whole story, we might have found that the re-capture of Agrinion by the Aetolians was only the prelude to the final subjugation of the Agraeis, and that their union with Aetolia dated from 314 B. C.

make Athamania border upon Amphilochia, as certainly was the case.

One way out of the difficulty certainly remains, and it has sometimes been adopted. It is proposed to identify the Agraeis and the Aperantoi, either wholly or partially. No evidence for this theory exists; it appears to spring from the notion that the modern name Ágrapha is a survival of the ancient word Agraia [1]. Ágrapha, however, has no connexion with the Agraioi, and affords no ground for bringing them to the east of the Acheloos. The derivation given by Leake is far more probable; the word dates from Byzantine times, when the villages were 'not written' separately in the publicans' books, but the inhabitants in a body accounted for their taxes [2]. The only evidence, therefore, for putting some portion of the Agraeis on the east of the Acheloos lies in the expression of Thucydides relating to the course of the river, —an expression which is not pressed in the case of Dolopia and Amphilochia [3]. Why then should it be insisted upon in the case of the Agraia?

Thus, in a circuitous manner, we have obtained more or less precisely the limits of the third and largest of the ancient Aetolian cantons, that of the Eurytanes. Starting from the chain of hills that closes the valley of the Spercheios on the west, linking together Mount Typhrestos and the range of Kallidromos and Oita, the Eurytanian frontier ran westwards along the continuation of Mount Velúchi in the direction of Sténoma and Kerásovon until it reached the confines of Aperantia, probably at the river Mégdhova [4]. From the

[1] Becker, *Diss.* i. 18, *note* 78: 'Ex voce Ἀγραῖα interposito digammate regionis montanae, quae in sinistra Acheloi ripa est, et pagi in ea siti nomen Agrapha, quod nunc in usu est, fluxisse videtur.'

[2] Leake, N. G. iv. 266.

[3] As a matter of fact the words of Thucydides (*ῥέων . . . διὰ . . . Ἀμφιλόχων*) *cannot* be pressed with regard, at any rate, to the Amphilochians. It has yet to be proved that the Amphilochian frontier actually came as far east as the Acheloos. For an expression precisely parallel to that of Thucydides, cf. Strabo, p. 327: *αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀχελῷος εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ ὁ Εὔηνος, ὁ μὲν τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν διεξιὼν ὁ δὲ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν*, where the word *διεξιών*, though strictly true of the Euenos, could hardly be pressed in the case of the Acheloos.

[4] Leake, N. G. iv. 275, extends the Eurytanian frontier much farther

left bank of the Agalianós river the territory of the Eurytanes was still conterminous with that of the Aperantoi as far south as the borders of Ancient Aetolia, and sweeping along the northern verge of the central plain their frontier embraced the eastern end of the greater lake. Then, turning northwards along the Phídharis, it joined the boundaries of the Ophioneis, or more accurately the Bomieis, on the watershed formed by the eastern prolongation of Araboképhalon.

Whether the whole of this great area was the possession of the Eurytanes may well be doubted. The historians tell us nothing definite, and the meagre winnings of travel and conjecture do not enable us to answer the question with absolute certainty.

In 218 B.C. Philip suddenly made his appearance in the heart of Aetolia. Polybios, describing his route with minuteness and accuracy, says that the army kept Stratos, Agrinion, and the Thestieis upon its left flank [1]. In the list of towns passed by the Macedonians on the right and left hand it is noticeable that we find only a single instance of the people being mentioned instead of their city. We can scarcely doubt that in the position indicated by Polybios there existed a tribe called the Thestieis, a name connected with the earliest history of the Aetolian land. Amidst all the contradictions that obscure the history of primitive Aetolia, a hero named Thestios always appears as a prince of the Kouretes, ruling in Pleuron [2]. It is only later invention that makes him a kinsman of the contemporary Oineus, the Aetolian monarch

northwards. He writes: 'It is highly probable that the crest of the ridge of Ágrapha formed the ordinary boundary between Aetolia and Thessaly. In that case Mount Karáva was the extreme northern point of Aetolia.' Mount Karáva is in Lat. 39° 20′ N., and fifty kilomètres N.W. of Velúchi. Leake thus makes Aetolia conterminous with Athamania, as he confines the Dolopes entirely to the eastern, or Thessalian, side of the mountains which run in a S.E. direction from Mount Karáva to Hághios Elías, south of the town Rendína. But it is clear that the Dolopes stretched westwards from this ridge, and thus intervened between Athamania and Eurytania, although the lines of demarcation must be entirely conjectural.

[1] Pol. v. 7.

[2] Str. p. 461: *παρὰ Θέστιον τὸν τῶν Πλευρωνίων ἄρχοντα.* *Id.* p. 466: *ἐπικρατεῖν μέντοι Θέστιον τῆς Πλευρωνίας, τὸν πενθερὸν τοῦ Οἰνέως Ἀλθαίας δὲ πατέρα, ἡγούμενον τῶν Κουρήτων.* See also Paus. iii. 13. 8; Strabo, p. 465.

of Kalydon. In whatever way we may attempt to rationalize the myth of the Kalydonian boar hunt, that part of it which relates to the slaying of the sons of Thestios by the enraged Meleagros appears to conceal a piece of genuine history[1]. The Aetolian invaders who had established themselves in Kalydon succeeded in breaking the power which they found in possession of the land. The Kouretes, or at least that section which bore the name of Thestios, were expelled from Pleuron and compelled to retire from their old abodes on the coast into the interior of the country[2]. Although subsequently the family of Oineus and the splendour of Kalydon decayed, the catastrophe had no effect upon the fortunes of the people of Thestios; Agrios and his sons take their place in the legends[3]. The Thestieis of Polybios are the flotsam and jetsam of Heroic Aetolia. The hills on the south of Aperantia provided a refuge from the invaders who overran the plains of the coast and possessed themselves of the fair heritage of the Kouretes.

It seems most probable, therefore, that the Thestieis occupied the well-marked triangular section lying between the river Zérvas and Mount Viéna. On the south-west their territory would reach as far as the plain between the Acheloos and the modern Agrinion, thus touching the domain attached to the ancient town of that name[4]. The land of the Thestieis is roughly bisected by the river Eremítsas.

How must we account for the variation in the language of

[1] Cf. Str. p. 466: *πολέμου δ' ἐμπεσόντος τοῖς Θεστιάδαις πρὸς Οἰνέα καὶ Μελέαγρον, ὡς μὲν ὁ ποιητὴς 'ἀμφὶ συὸς κεφαλῇ καὶ δέρματι' κατὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦ κάπρου μυθολογίαν, ὡς δὲ τὸ εἰκὸς περὶ μέρος τῆς χώρας, κ.τ.λ.*

[2] We hear an echo of this in the assertion quoted from Ephoros (Strabo, p. 463), that the Kouretes crossed the Acheloos into Akarnania under pressure from the Aetolians. See also *id.* p. 465.

[3] Paus. ii. 25. 2: *Οἰνέα γὰρ τὸν βασιλεύσαντα ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγρίου παίδων ἐκβληθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς παρὰ Διομήδην ἐς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐτιμώρησεν αὐτῷ στρατεύσας ἐς τὴν Καλυδωνίαν, κ.τ.λ.* Apoll. i. 8. 6: *οἱ δὲ Ἀγρίου παῖδες . . . ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Οἰνέως βασιλείαν τῷ πατρὶ ἔδοσαν, καὶ προσέτι ζῶντα τὸν Οἰνέα καθείρξαντες ᾠκίζοντο.* See also Hyginus, *Fab.* 175.

[4] In the extreme west, therefore, the Thestieis would reach as far as the Acheloos. This derives some support from the statement that the Acheloos, before it got that name, had been called Thestios (Plut. *De fluv.* xxii. 1). At a still earlier period it was known as the Axenos. Strabo (p. 450) tells us that the Acheloos had also once borne the name Thoas. With reference to the name Thestios, see p. 178.

Polybios in enumerating the points to the right and left of the Macedonians? The reason is that in the interval between the ancient Agrinion and the lakes there existed no town that could naturally serve the historian's purpose. The three kástra[1] in this region are all too far distant, are geographically too much dissevered from the plain, to admit of being used as points of reference. It was otherwise with the territory belonging to the tribe; that extended at least to the borders of the plain, most probably to the very margin of the lakes.

On the banks of the Eremítsas itself two more tribal names have survived, graven on the rock, *in situ* for ever. An ancient boundary stone is still extant, proclaiming 'the limits of the Eiteaioi and the Eoitanes.' The stone gives us a fixed point in the topography[2]. The river flowing past the stone was the division between the two tribes; but we cannot say on which side of it each respectively fell. We must suppose the Eiteaioi and Eoitanes to have been two sections of the Thestieis. Thus the significant physical bisection of the area inhabited by that tribe was adopted in politics. In what precise relation the Thestieis stood to their neighbours the Eurytanes must be left undetermined[3].

The analogy of the Ophieis, among whom the existence of minor cantons is an historical fact, and the discovery of the two subdivisions of the Thestieis, together with that of other tribal names of which the cantonal affinities are unknown[4], suggest that similar remains may yet be found to reveal to us something certain in place of the conjectures with which we must content ourselves in reconstructing the arrangement of the Aetolian tribes.

[1] Those of Mavrovrú, Vlochós, and Paravóla.

[2] See p. 180.

[3] Is it possible that Ἐοιτᾶνες is the genuine Aetolian form of the name which appears in Thucydides and Strabo as Εὐρυτάνες, by the substitution of an intelligible for a meaningless combination of syllables? If this should prove to have been the case the views expressed in the text will require considerable modification. One of the Attic Demes bore the name Εἰτέα.

[4] Such as the Bouttioi, Porioi, and Phyllaioi, of the Skála inscriptions.

TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES

. . . πολλῆς ἂν δικαίως τυγχάνοιμεν συγγνώμης· . . . ἢ λήμμασι χρώμενοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἢ χειρισμῷ πραγμάτων, ἢ τοῖς τῆς λέξεως ῥήμασι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐάν που παραπίπτωμεν ὀνομασίαις ὀρῶν ἢ ποταμῶν ἢ τόπων ἰδιότησι· τὸ γὰρ μέγεθος τῆς πραγματείας ἱκανόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ἐν ἅπασι τούτοις παραιτεῖσθαι· πλὴν ἐάν που κατὰ πρόθεσιν χάριτος ἕνεκεν εὑρισκώμεθα ψευδογραφοῦντες· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ παραιτούμεθα. Pol. xxix. 12.

CHAPTER IX.

The Coast Plain.

I.

Both on account of its position near the eastern confines of Old Aetolia, and on account of its ancient reputation, Kalydon may justly claim to be the starting-point of the topographer. The city was the theme of poetry from Homer to Statius. The *Catalogue* mentions 'Chalkis by the sea, and rocky Kalydon[1].' In the legend related by Phoinix, Meleagros is promised a gift of land chosen 'where the plain of lovely Kalydon is fattest[2].' Euripides admirably describes the site in the words quoted by Lucian,—'This is the land of Kalydon whose rich plain fronts the passage to Pelops' isle[3].' Finally, Statius sings:—

> Et praeceps Calydon, et quae Jove provocat Idam
> Olenos[4].

In history the town makes no great figure. It is identified almost entirely with Heroic Aetolia. The names of Oineus, Tydeus, and Meleagros throw round it a poetical splendour that fades away in later times. Soon after the close of the Peloponnesian war Kalydon is found in the hands of the

[1] Hom. *Il.* ii. 640: Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχίαλον Καλυδῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν.

[2] *Id. Il.* ix. 577: Ὀππόθι πιότατον πεδίον Καλυδῶνος ἐραννῆς.

[3] Frag. *Meleagr.* i. (518):—

> Καλυδὼν μὲν ἥδε γαῖα, Πελοπείας χθονὸς
> ἐν ἀντιπόρθμοις πεδί' ἔχουσ' εὐδαίμονα.

Cf. Frag. 561:—

> Ὦ γῆς πατρῴας χαῖρε φίλτατον πέδον
> Καλυδῶνος.

[4] *Theb.* iv. 104. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* viii. 522: Alta jacet Calydon.

Achaians, who apparently incorporated it politically[1], until the battle of Leuktra broke the Spartan power[2]. Its position, close to the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf, made Kalydon the sentinel-city of Old Aetolia, guarding the approach from the side of the Peloponnese. This comes out clearly in Xenophon's account of the expedition of Agesilaos and the difficulties which threatened his retreat from Akarnania[3]. In 48 B. C. the old strategic importance of the town reappears, but only for a moment[4]. At the hands of Augustus, Kalydon received her death-blow; her population was transported to the new city Nikopolis, and Patrai was enriched with a share of her spoils[5]. In the days of Strabo, both Pleuron and Kalydon, 'once the ornaments of Greece,' had fallen into the most desolate condition[6].

Pliny, usually a poor guide, gives us exact particulars concerning the position of the city[7]. He says: 'Kalydon lies near the Euenos, seven thousand five hundred paces from the sea.' Skylax also enumerates it among the cities on the coast[8]. As to the identification of the Euenos there can be no question. The modern Phídharis, the only truly Aetolian river on this coast, must be that Euenos of Aetolia

[1] Xen. *Hist.* iv. 6. 1: *Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔχοντες Καλυδῶνα, ἣ τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰτωλίας ἦν, καὶ πολίτας πεποιημένοι τοὺς Καλυδωνίους, φρουρεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο ἐν αὐτῇ.*

[2] Diod. xv. 75: *Δύμην καὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ Καλυδῶνα φρουρουμένην ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν ἠλευθέρωσεν, sc.* Epameinondas, in 367 B. C.

[3] Xen. *Hist.* iv. 6. 14: *ἀπῄει πεζῇ δι' Αἰτωλίας τοιαύτας ὁδοὺς ἃς οὔτε πολλοὶ οὔτε ὀλίγοι δύναιντ' ἂν ἀκόντων Αἰτωλῶν πορεύεσθαι . . . ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ Ῥίον, ταύτῃ διαβὰς οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος ἔκπλουν εἰς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκώλυον τριήρεσιν ὁρμώμενοι ἐξ Οἰνιαδῶν.* This was in 390 B. C.

[4] Caes. *B. C.* iii. 35: Calvisius primo adventu summa omnium Aetolorum receptus voluntate, praesidiis adversariorum Calydone et Naupacto dejectis omni Aetolia potitus est. From c. 34 we find that the duties of Calvisius were chiefly connected with the commissariat.

[5] Paus. vii. 18. 8: *Καλυδῶνος γὰρ καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης ὑπὸ Αὐγούστου βασιλέως ἐρημωθείσης διὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν Νικόπολιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀκτίου συνοικίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ Αἰτωλικόν, οὕτω τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Λαφρίας οἱ Πατρεῖς ἔσχον. κ.τ.λ.*

[6] Str. p. 450: *Καλυδών τε καὶ Πλευρών, νῦν μὲν τεταπεινωμέναι, τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν πρόσχημα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦν ταῦτα τὰ κτίσματα.*

[7] Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 3: Aetoliae oppidum Calydon est septem millibus quingentis pass. a mari iuxta Evenum amnem.

[8] Skyl. Cary. § 35.

which rose, according to Strabo [1], among the Bomieis, according to Ptolemy [2] in Mount Kallidromos, the Pindos of Dionysios [3]. Strabo's remark that its mouth is one hundred and twenty stades west of Antirrhion [4], and the passage in Thucydides in which the Peloponnesians attempting to cross from Patrai to Akarnania sight Phormion 'bearing down upon them from Chalkis and the mouth of the river Euenos [5],' prove beyond a doubt the identity of the Euenos and the modern Phidharis [6]. We are told that it was first called Lykormas [7], a name which possibly continued in use during the historical period, probably having reference to the wild and treacherous character of the stream; its later name Euenos must be euphemistic [8]. Pouqueville correctly describes the Phídharis as a wild torrent, but containing only two feet of water in summer [9]. The sudden rains of spring turn it in a surprisingly short time into a fiercely foaming muddy stream, which cannot be crossed without the help of a guide well acquainted with the ford. The railway bridge, however, has deprived the modern Nessos of his employment, for it spans the river just at the point at which must always have been the most convenient passage [10], the scene

[1] Str. p. 451: Ὁ δ' Εὔηνος ποταμὸς ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ Βωμιέων τῶν ἐν Ὀφιεῦσιν.

[2] Ptol. iii. 14. 12: τῶν δὲ ποταμῶν . . . ὁ δὲ Εὔηνος ἐν τῷ Καλλιδρόμῳ ὄρει ἐπιστρέφων κ.τ.λ.

[3] Dion. Kall. *l.* 61: ποταμός τ' Εὔηνος ἐκ Πίνδου ῥέων.

[4] Str. p. 460.

[5] Thuc. ii. 83: κατεῖδον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκίδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐήνου ποταμοῦ προσπλέοντας σφίσιν.

[6] So Meletios, *Geogr.* ii. 306: Εὔηνος, κοινῶς Φιδάρι. Gell, *Itin.* p. 292, calls it Ophitari; Pococke, *Descript. of the East*, ii. 175, Aphidare: both by a very natural mistake. The names Évenos and Phídharis are used with about equal frequency by the peasants.

[7] Str. p. 451: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Λυκόρμας πρότερον. Steph. Byz. Λυκόρμας, ποταμός, ὃν τινες Εὔηνον φασί. Lykoph. *Alex.* 1012: καὶ τὸν ἐκ Λυκορμαίων ποτῶν | στρατηλάτην σὺν, καρτερὸν Γόργης τόκον, *i. e.* Thoas, cf. Hom. *Il.* iv. 253, 527. Hyginus, *Fab.* 242: Evenus Herculis filius in flumen Lycormam se praecipitavit [quod nunc Chrysorrhoas appellatur]. See also Plut. *De Fluv.* viii.; Apollod. i. 7. 8; Strabo, p. 327.

[8] Explained in Etym. Mag. as πρᾷος, καὶ μέτριος, καὶ μὴ ταραχώδης. Contrast Philostr. jun. *Imagines* xvi.: Μὴ δέδιθι, ὦ παῖ, τὸν Εὔηνον ποταμὸν πολλῷ κυμαίνοντα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας αἰρόμενον.

[9] *Voy.* iii. 543.

[10] Cf. Leake, N. G. i. 108.

of the outrage upon Deïaneira and the death of the Centaur[1]—

> Ὃς τὸν βαθύρρουν ποταμὸν Εὔηνον βροτοὺς
> μισθοῦ 'πόρευε χερσίν.

Upon one or other bank of the Phídharis, therefore, we must look for the site of Kalydon. Having regard to the connexion of the city with the very dawn of Aetolian history, we should naturally turn first to the west of the river; but certain words of Strabo cause us to hesitate. He tells us that Pleuron was, as it were, the capital of Plain, or Old, Aetolia; and Kalydon of Aetolia Epiktetos,—Kalydon getting the epithets 'rocky' and 'lofty' from the mountainous district in which it lay[2]. Pouqueville was led by this to look for its ruins upon the left bank of the Phídharis, in the hilly country behind Mounts Varássova and Klókova, between Aetolia and Lokris. This view, however, has no better support than that given by the confusions of Strabo and the imagination of the French traveller. No Hellenic remains can be found upon the left bank of the Phídharis, with the exception of those which we are compelled to attribute to Chalkis. Pouqueville, it is true, alleges that he saw upon the slopes of Mount Varássova, above the village of Mavromáti, fragments of an akropolis wall in the style of that of Mykenai, mingled with repairs due to a later age[3]. Too many proofs exist to show that Pouqueville was the victim of his imagination; the 'inspiration' that guided him to his wonderful identifications sometimes led him more gravely astray. Later travellers have sought in vain for those remains to which he gave the distinguished name of Kalydon[4]. It is possible that the appearance of the rocks, which on the sides of the sandstone hills behind Varássova are split into

[1] Soph. *Trach.* 559. Cf. Paus. x. 38. 2; Apollod. ii. 7. 6; Lucan, *Phars.* vi. 366: Et Meleagream maculatus sanguine Nessi | Evenos Calydona secat.

[2] Str. p. 460: ὅταν δὲ φῇ τὴν Καλυδῶνα αἰπεῖάν τε καὶ πετρήεσσαν, ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας δεκτέον· εἴρηται γὰρ ὅτι τὴν χώραν δίχα διελόντες τὴν μὲν ὀρεινὴν καὶ ἐπίκτητον τῇ Καλυδῶνι προσένειμαν, τὴν πεδιάδα δὲ τῇ Πλευρῶνι.

[3] *Voy.* iii. 540: 'des ruines cyclopéennes avec des restaurations helléniques.' *Id.* iv. 6: 'Cependant on me dit, et je m'en assurai dans la suite, qu'il existe encore quelques pans de mur d'une acropole semblable à celle des Mycènes, et des portions de remparts d'une époque postérieure. Au-dessous de Calydon, j'apercevais le village de Mavromati.'

[4] Cf. Bazin, *Mém.* p. 360.

curiously regular forms, led him to fancy that he saw in the distance vestiges of ancient fortifications. Only upon the right bank of the river, however, can remains be discovered, and they lie in exact agreement with the information quoted concerning the situation of Kalydon.

The ruins to which I refer are those generally known as the Kástro of Kurtagá, identified in 1809 by Leake with the city of Meleagros [1].

Half an hour above the right bank of the Phídharis three bare hills rise at the south-eastern foot of the Zygós. Their disposition is such as to enclose a narrow valley opening to the south-west in face of the traveller who approaches from the village of Bochóri [2]. Nothing is at first visible of the city walls upon the hills, which are covered only with coarse grass and asphodel, with here and there a patch of grain, all alike parched and burnt in the fierce summer heat. A few vines in the narrow valley alone suggest a connexion between this grey desert and the city of Oineus, where the wine-god found especial honour and worship; but Dionysos has left his old home, and the vines are blasted by disease.

Suddenly an imposing structure rising before us shows that our first impressions were mistaken. A low ridge on the left bank of the torrent that flows down the vale bears striking terrace-walls, evidently designed to support some huge building placed on the level above them. The most perfectly preserved portion, some six courses or eighteen feet high, has a length of ninety-six feet. The ridge being very steep required support on the sides towards the torrent and the mouth of the valley; but on the other sides it sinks more gently. The depth to which the masonry extends into the hill is not known, but it is a proof of the excellence of the work to find that after the lapse of so many centuries there are no signs of bulging. The style is a fair example of 'regular Hellenic,' i. e. the courses are regular and the joints upright; but its effect is spoilt by the poor quality of the material. The ridge sinks very gradually towards the head of the valley in which it is placed. Going down the slope we pass a second much smaller terrace, now occupied

[1] N. G. i. 109; iii. 533 fol.

[2] Μποχῶρι, *i. e.* Ὑποχώριον, 'the village in the plain.' Cf. Leake, N. G. i. 112.

only by the ruined church of Saint John, but showing traces of ancient work. Advancing a few yards farther in the same direction we reach at last the city wall and the main gate.

The great terrace, placed in so conspicuous a position upon the main road leading into the city, can only have been intended to support a temple, the principal sacred edifice of Kalydon. Corresponding to it, upon the smaller terrace, there was probably a second temple. Our minds at once revert to the passage of Pausanias wherein he mentions the chryselephantine statue, representing Artemis Laphria, which he saw in the akropolis of Patrai[1]. It was originally the possession of Kalydon. Strabo, however, does not mention Artemis, but only Apollo Laphraios, whose temple, he expressly says, was 'near' the city, not in it[2]. It was no unusual thing for temples to be placed in the open country outside the walls, as they were sufficiently protected by their sanctity from outrage by an enemy. In the present case the temple terrace was virtually an outwork protecting the road and gate. There is no doubt that we must consider the cultus to have been one of Apollo and Artemis conjointly, and we can have no hesitation in localising the worship upon the great terrace. Yet neither on nor around it do we find the smallest fragment of architecture; nothing has escaped destruction, except the foundation-blocks of the temple pavement on the top of the ridge. The peasants have no tradition of anything having existed in the shape of columns or such like. It would seem that the structure of the temple was much more simple than we should have expected from the value of the statue that it contained. Still, there is nothing strange in this: we are apt to forget that the temples of Athens, Aigina, and other great towns, must not be regarded as examples of the normal form, but rather as specimens of its final elaboration when translated into stone.

The description of the ceremonies of the cultus, as given

[1] Paus. vii. 18. 9: *Πατρεῦσι δὲ ὁ Αὔγουστος ἄλλα τε τῶν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος λαφύρων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Λαφρίας ἔδωκε τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῇ Πατρέων εἶχε τιμάς.*

[2] Str. p. 459: *περὶ δὲ τὴν Καλυδῶνά ἐστι τὸ τοῦ Λαφρίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν.* Perhaps this is the source of what we read in Meletios, *Geogr.* ii. 306: *Πλησίον τῆς Καλυδῶνος ἦτον τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Παντοκράτορος Διός.* Yet above he writes: *Καληδών, ὅπου ἐσέβετο ἡ Λαφρία Ἄρτεμις, ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐκλήθη ὁ Καλυδώνιος Δρυμός, καὶ ὁ Ἀγριόχοιρος.*

by Pausanias[1], applies primarily to Patrai; but its main features must be Aetolian, for with the temple-image the whole of the sacred apparatus and the ordinances connected with it would undoubtedly be transported to its new home. This is hinted at in another place by Pausanias himself, when he says that the Messenians of Naupaktos also adopted the worship of the Laphrian Artemis, so that a statue of the goddess was to be found in Messene[2]. There is an Aetolian character about the Laphrian Festival at Patrai that bears out this theory of its origin. 'Round the altar they erect a circular barrier of green wood, sixteen cubits high. The driest wood they can get lies within, upon the altar. And for the season of the feast they contrive a smooth ascent to the altar, by putting earth upon its steps. First, then, there is a splendid procession in honour of Artemis, in which the virgin priestess rides last in a chariot yoked with stags[3]. On the following day the sacrifice takes place; the greatest enthusiasm being displayed, both by the public functionaries and by private persons. They throw alive upon the altar edible birds and victims of all kinds, wild boars, stags, and does; some throw upon it wolves' and bears' cubs; others even full-grown animals. They also put upon the altar the fruit of cultivated trees[4]; then they set the pile on fire. Thereupon I have seen a bear or other animal, under the first violence of the flame, trying to force its way out, and sometimes even escaping by main strength; but those who cast them in bring them back again to the pyre, and they say that no one was ever hurt by the animals.' This horrible holocaust was offered annually to the goddess. It is to be noticed that the main gateway of Kalydon lies on the axis of the great terrace; it was through this gate that the magnificent procession would march up the gentle slope to the temple of the twin deities.

[1] Paus. vii. 18. 11 fol.

[2] *Id.* iv. 31. 7. He adds: *τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς Λαφρίας ἀφίκετο ὄνομα ἔς τε Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἐς Πατρεῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνους.*

[3] Cf. copper coin of M. Aur. figured in *Num. Comm. l. c.*; and of Elagabalus, Mionn. ii. 197, 364. They show a priestess in a chariot drawn by two stags.

[4] Cf. Hom. *Il.* ix. 534; Artemis sends the boar:—

Χωσαμένη ὅ οἱ οὔ τι θαλύσια γουνῷ ἀλωῆς
Οἰνεὺς ῥέξ'.

The evidence of Numismatics supplements the information supplied by Pausanias.

'The figure of Artemis Laphria on coins is almost unvaried; the only marked variation being that the bow rests in some cases on a high pedestal, in some cases on a low pedestal, in some cases on the ground. The goddess stands, her head slightly turned to her left, clad in a short chiton with diploïs which leaves the right breast bare, a chlamys hanging over her left shoulder, high cothurni on her feet. Her hair is in a knot at the back; a quiver is at her shoulder. Her attitude is one of ease, yet not quite free from stiffness; the left knee slightly advanced, the right hand resting on her side; in the left hand a bow[1]. The type is clearly a copy of the cultus-statue of Artemis Laphria; this is even proved to demonstration by a coin where it appears side by side with the Aphrodite of the Corinthian akropolis[2]. We thus arrive at an interesting result. It is distinctly stated by Pausanias that the cultus-image at Patrai was the work of Menaichmos and Soïdas of Naupaktos[3]. On this Brunn remarks that its date must be earlier than the settlement of Naupaktos by the Messenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war[4]. And Pausanias says that the sculptors must have lived not much after the archaic sculptors Kallon of Aigina and Kanachos of Sikyon. But the statement of Pausanias seems exaggerated in view of the style of the figure on the coins, which may perhaps be assigned to the middle of the fifth century, but can with difficulty be given to an earlier date. In any case this will be one of the earliest statues which represent Artemis in Amazonian form[5].'

The small temple that apparently stood near the site of the present church of Saint John may have been dedicated to Dionysos; we are unable to say anything of the Aetolian form of the cult.

Passing to the remains of the city, we reach first the main gate in the southern wall running across the gully. Nothing but the ground-plan remains, but that is quite clear. We have an opening seventeen feet wide and thirty-two feet long; on the right and left a square tower springs forward eleven feet from the face of the wall to protect the passage. There is nothing elaborate about this, nor about the plan of the smaller gate-

[1] This Laphrian Artemis is clearly only Atalanta. Cf. Eurip. *Frag.* 531: Ἀρκὰς Ἀταλάντη κύνας | καὶ τόξ' ἔχουσα. *Phoin.* 1162: τῇ καλλιτόξῳ μητρὶ Μαινάλου κόρῃ. With her arrow Atalanta draws first blood in the boar hunt.

[2] A copper coin of Commodus.

[3] Paus. vii. 18. 10.

[4] *Gesch. der Gr. Kunst.* 2nd ed. i. 80 = 1st ed. i. 112.

[5] *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (Imhoof-Blumer and Percy Gardner), p. 77.



NORTHERN WALL OF KALYDON; LOOKING WEST.

ways. There are five of these subordinate entrances; one in the north, another in the west, and a third exactly opposite in the east. The modern pathway traversing the site runs from the last-mentioned gate to the great gate in the southern wall. A fourth postern is near the south-eastern angle of the enceinte; lastly, there is a gateway between it and the main entrance. Extreme simplicity of design characterizes the Kalydonian gates, which are, besides, remarkably few in number,—only six in a circuit of two miles. Both points are indications of an early date. To the primitive engineer, to breach his wall for the purpose of ingress and egress was to create weakness, which he knew not how to overcome without a great expenditure of material, if he attempted the task at all. The advance of the science gradually made the gateway the strongest point in the whole circuit of the defences.

The conclusion drawn from a consideration of the gateways of Kalydon is pressed more strongly upon us by a survey of the whole enceinte, which, in a very unequal state of preservation, but nowhere more than seven courses high, can be traced throughout its entire circuit of more than two miles[1]. The general plan is that of a rough quadrilateral placed across the spur of the Zygós in such a way that the wall runs along each face and crosses the ridge at head and foot, but without including the two extremities. The narrowest part of the enclosure is that which fronts the river Phídharis, looking towards the south-east. On the north of the site we find the rectangular akropolis height abutting upon the main wall, being cut off from the rest of the city by a short cross-wall. The akropolis looks upon a narrow vale, down which a stream flows eastwards into the Phídharis.

The lines consist of an irregular alternation of square towers and salient angles. Curious variations are observable, both in the distribution of the angles and towers, and in the masonry of the fortifications. In some parts the wall is built in fairly 'regular' style, that of the great terrace; in others it has a much ruder and more ancient appearance,—the irregularity of the courses, their oblique joints, the unworked faces of the blocks, all combine with the brown, easily

[1] Leake (N. G. iii. 535), 'near two miles and a half.' Bazin (*Mém.* p. 356), 'plus de quatre kilomètres.'

weathered sandstone, of which the wall is throughout constructed, to give the work a semblance of higher antiquity than many examples showing the same features of technique. Nevertheless, we must be on our guard against exaggerating the amount of this difference in the style of the masonry. That it is to a certain extent of an accidental nature may be proved by contrasting the walls on the northern with those on the southern and seaward face of the hills, where the corrosive action of the salt breeze has had free play upon the surface of the masonry [1].

Of relics within the walls of Kalydon it is impossible to say much. A few terraces in the akropolis and on the west of the site; substructures of fine character near the main gate; traces of an aqueduct draining the interior of the enclosure into the gully that descends from the Zygós along the western wall,—this is the meagre list of the remains of the greatest city of Aetolia. The site has yielded a few inscriptions [2]; one of them, on a stele found near the church of St. John, confirms the identification with Kalydon. According to Cousin [3] it reads:—

'Α πόλις] Καλ(υ)δωνίων Δάμαρχον
. . . . ωνος Καλυδώνιον τὸν
αὐτ]ᾶς εὐεργέταν.

Kalydon appears in Federal inscriptions throughout the history of the League; generally, however, merely as designating the native place of Aetolian magistrates. In looking through the list of Aetolian Strategoi we find the names of Alexander and of Damokritos, two Kalydonians who more

[1] If any one is sceptical as to the reality of the problems suggested by an examination of the style of masonry and methods of fortification employed in the Hellenic palaiákastra, let him contrast the walls of Kalydon, an Homeric city, with those of Old Pleuron or Chalkis, both of which, so far as the *literary* evidence goes, belong to the same epoch as Kalydon.

[2] Leake (N. G. i. 112) notices one found in some vineyards near Kurtagá, reading ΦΙΛΟΥΜΕΝΑ | ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΣ.

[3] In the *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* x. (1886), p. 185. Published previously by Baz. *Mém.* p. 361, and App. No. 13. For another Kalydonian inscription, see *Bullettino*, 1849, p. 105 = Ditten. *Syll.* 258 = Lebas. ii. 1031 = *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* x. p. 183.

than once held the highest office of the nation[1]. The important inscription concerning the frontiers of Melitaia and the Pereis in Thessaly incidentally bears witness to the importance of Kalydon among the Aetolian cities. A copy of the decree is ordered to be placed 'in Melitaia, in Delphi, in Kalydon, and in Thermon[2].' Melitaia, the town chiefly interested in the award, would naturally have a copy. Delphi, between 290 and 190 B.C., was the ecclesiastical capital of the League[3]. Aetolia proper is represented by Thermon and Kalydon,—the former the new political capital, the latter the old; the one identified with Aetolia Epiktetos, the other with Aetolia Antiqua[4].

[1] Alexander was Strategos sometime between 208–200; again in 196/5; and also in 185/4 B.C. Damokritos in 200/199, and 193/2 B.C. Cf. Wescher-Foucart, and Baunack (*Sammlung-Collitz*), *passim*; *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* v. (1881), p. 409. In Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencycl.* (New Ed. Art. *Alexander*, No. 32) Alexander of Kalydon is identified with the Aetolian orator of that name, who was also called ὁ Ἴσιος (cf. Pol. xviii. 3). But this is surely mistaken. Ἴσιος = Ἥσσιος, of Thuc. iii. 101. There are abundant examples of the ethnic Ἴσιος in the Emancipation Deeds from Delphi. Isos or Hessos was originally a Lokrian town. I think that it is now Malandhríno, where are fine and extensive remains of a polis, with at least two temples, yielding numerous Emancipation records not yet published. Malandhríno is a few hours S.E. of Lidhoríki.

[2] Fick (*Samm. Coll.*), 1415; Lebas, *Thess.* 1179; Cauer, *Delectus*[2], 239. So also the decree recognising the Nikephoria of Eumenes II (Fick, 1413; *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* v. p. 372) says: *ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε ἐν στάλαις λιθίναις δύο καὶ ἀναθέμεν τὰν μίαν ἐν Θέρμον, τὰν δὲ ἐν Δελφούς.*

[3] Cf. Bürgel, *Die Pylaeisch-Delphische Amphiktyonie*, p. 281 fol.

[4] It is true that Strabo speaks of Pleuron being, as it were, the capital of Old Aetolia, and Kalydon of Aetolia Epiktetos (p. 460: *τὴν μὲν ὀρεινὴν καὶ ἐπίκτητον τῇ Καλυδῶνι προσένειμαν, τὴν πεδιάδα δὲ τῇ Πλευρῶνι.* Cf. *id.* p. 465). This need not cause any difficulty. The distinction is not based on politics. It springs from a difference in the point of view, turning simply on the question whether it is with Thermon, or with Pleuron, that we are contrasting Kalydon. If with Thermon, then the two cities are the old and new capitals respectively. If with Pleuron, then we may say that Kalydon embraces Aetolia Epiktetos; and Pleuron, Aetolia Antiqua. We might describe the statement in Strabo as expressing a geographical, rather than a historical, relation between Pleuron and Kalydon. Geographically, the connexion of Kalydon with New Aetolia was at least as close as with Old Aetolia. Historically, the connexion of the city with Old Aetolia had also been somewhat obscured. For we know that, along with Naupaktos, Kalydon fell into the hands of the Achaians, a state of things which lasted until 367 B.C. (see

The strategic value of the town is obvious at a glance. The road over the Phídharis and along the plain by way of Pleuron into Central Aetolia was completely in the hands of the Kalydonians, as was also the more direct path over the Zygós range at their back. Their sentinels, looking upon the mighty barrier of Varássova, the broad gravelly bed of the Phídharis, and the rich plains of Bochóri merging insensibly into the sea, kept watch and ward at the very threshold of their land.

We owe to Pausanias[1] two more items of interest in connexion with Kalydon. Patrai possessed the Kalydonian statue of Dionysos, as well as that of Artemis[2]. Koresos, the priest of Dionysos in Kalydon, dying of love for Kallirhoe who repulsed him, besought the god, and he in answer bereft the people of their senses. The oracle of Dodona declared that healing would only come if Koresos should sacrifice to Dionysos either the maiden herself or the man that would die in her stead. No one, not even her parents, would consent to save her at such a price, and Koresos raised the sacrificial knife to plunge it,—into his own heart. The sight of her fallen lover, self-slain for her, wrung from Kallirhoe at last the love she had refused to bestow, and 'she slew herself at the fountain which is in Kalydon, not far from the harbour[3].' The fountain was thenceforth called by her name.

Pausanias alone mentions this harbour and spring, but Strabo speaks of 'a great lake full of fish near to Kalydon[4];'

p. 92). It is easy to understand how its reunion with Aetolia should have been regarded as only a moment in the gradual expansion of the Federation. Thus, quite logically, Kalydon became identified with New, or Epiktetos, Aetolia; and her rival Pleuron with the Old Aetolia of the coast.

[1] We may add here what we are told in Pollux, v. 45: *ἔνδοξος δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀταλάντης κύων, Ἄυρα τοὔνομα, ἣν ὁ Καλυδώνιος σῦς ἀπέκτεινεν· ἀφ' ἧς τὸ κυνὸς σῆμα ἐν Καλυδῶνι.*

[2] Paus. vii. 21. 1 fol.

[3] *Ibid.*: *ἀπέσφαξέ τε αὐτὴν ἐς τὴν πηγήν, ἣ ἐν Καλυδῶνί ἐστιν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης οἱ ἔπειτα ἄνθρωποι Καλλιρόην τὴν πηγὴν καλοῦσι.*

[4] Str. p. 460: *ἔστι δέ τις καὶ πρὸς τῇ Καλυδῶνι λίμνη μεγάλη καὶ εὔοψος, ἣν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐν Πάτραις Ῥωμαῖοι.* It must be to this that Alkiphron, *Epist.* i. 18, refers, in the words *καὶ γέννηταί σοι τὸ τῆς ψαλτρίας καταγώγιον Καλυδώνιος κόλπος ἢ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος*,—unless the sea between the mouth of the Acheloos and the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf was known as the 'Kalydonian gulf.'

its fisheries were farmed by a *societas publicanorum* of Patrai, and Archestratos, a gastronomic poet quoted by Athenaios, says that they produced the fish *labrax* in great perfection[1]. There is also a reference in a fragment of Nikander to a lagoon or lake which he calls Onthis, on the road to Naupaktos, and near a certain 'lofty hill[2].' This hill is left unnamed: it might with great probability be identified with Mount Varássova[3]. Whether the λίμνη of Strabo and the λιμήν of Pausanias are identical, wholly or partially, is uncertain: and the λίμνη of Nikander only enhances our perplexities.

We may argue[4] that Kallirhoe is the stream already mentioned as flowing along the foot of the great terrace, past the site to which we have conjecturally assigned the temple of Dionysos (who appears in the legend). Upon this it must be remarked that the words of Pausanias, 'the source not far from the harbour,' would more naturally have been used of a stream rising near the sea, than of one which runs down from the Zygós, as is the case with this watercourse. Still, as Pausanias had no personal knowledge of the locality, we cannot press his words. A more decisive argument against this identification of Kallirhoe is that it leads us no farther. If it were true, then by following the direction of the stream we should issue upon the coast somewhere near the ancient harbour spoken of by Pausanias. In reality, however, the stream does not fall into the sea at all, but is diverted into various channels, natural and artificial, and lost in the low ground about Bochóri long before the coast-line is reached.

A more probable conjecture is that the ancient Kallirhoe survives in the springs that rise at the very foot of Mount Varássova, close to the modern jetty of Kryonéri. Not far from the shore at that point remains are said to be visible in

[1] Athen. vii. 311 a:—

πιότεροι δ' ἕτεροι πολλοὶ Καλυδῶνί τε κλεινῇ
Ἀμβρακίᾳ τ'.

[2] Schol. *in* Nik. *Theriac.* 215: Ῥυπαῖον . . . Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Αἰτωλίας, ὡς Νίκανδρος περί τινων εἰς Αἰτωλίαν ἐρχομένων διηγούμενος· δι' αἰπεινήν τε κολώνην Οἰωνοῦ Ῥύπης τε πάγον καὶ Ὀνθίδα λίμνην Στείχοντο Ναύπακτον, ἐς Ἀμφιδύμην τε πέλαζον.

[3] So Palmer, *Gr. Descr.* p. 498, who conjectures Ὀνθίς for τις in the passage quoted from Strabo, p. 460.

[4] As does Becker, *Diss.* ii. 27.

the sea: they may possibly be those of an ancient quay[1]. If, however, we take them to indicate the place of the Kalydonian harbour, we must remark that the broad and treacherous Phídharis now intervenes between it and the city in a way that is quite intolerable. In order to escape from this objection we may invoke the *deus ex machina* of the topographer, and suppose the whole tract south of a line drawn from the foot of the hills of Kalydon to the point of Mount Varássova to be of very recent origin. If the plain, including that arm of it which extends between the shoulder of Mount Varássova and the foot-hills of the Zygós, north of the railway bridge, was an estuary during the sixth century before our era[2], it is clear that Kalydon must have enjoyed direct communication with the harbour at the mouth of the river, and thus the difficulty raised by the intervention of the Phídharis would be obviated.

This supposition, however enticing, cannot be accepted. For it involves the assumption that during the last 2500 years the river has thrust the coast-line at least seven kilomètres to the south; which gives to the plain a mean annual increase of three yards[3]. The rate must be set down as much greater if we take the springs of Kryonéri to be indeed the Kallirhoe of Pausanias; for then we are committed to the acknowledgement that in his time (180 A.D.) those springs were already visible[4],—that the coast-line had practically

[1] See the Admiralty Chart (Cap. Mansell, 1865), No. 1676. It is corrected to 1894. See p. 166.

[2] If we are to argue about the matter at all, we cannot consent to refer the story to an earlier date.

[3] Although not large in itself, this amount is too great if Neumann is correct in saying that the Spercheios, since the days of Herodotos, has only succeeded in pushing the coast-line outwards to the extent of some eight or twelve kilomètres. For the Spercheios is a much larger stream than the Phídharis, and drains a much larger tract of easily disintegrated soil. Cf. Neum. u. Partsch, *Die Physikalische Geogr. v. Griech.* p. 350. The rate in the case of the Phídharis must be still further augmented when we take into consideration the fact (known from Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 3) hat, already in 79 A.D., Kalydon was eleven kilomètres from the sea, although Pliny undoubtedly exaggerated the distance. As he is probably reproducing the statement of an older writer, we shall have to push yet farther back the date at which the accumulation of alluvium had ceased.

[4] As indeed follows from the actual words of Pausanias: *τὴν πηγήν, ἣ ἐν Καλυδῶνί ἐστιν, . . τὴν πηγὴν καλοῦσι.*

attained its present shape. And, in fact, for some centuries before the time of Pausanias the changes effected by the river, including the silting-up of the ancient harbour, must have been nearly complete, seeing that the geographical writers never hint at the existence of a harbour below Kalydon. The alluvium, long before 180 A. D., had reached the limits of its extension outwards into the gulf of Patras, and further deposits were swept away (as they are now) by the currents. Similarly, at the extreme western end of the alluvial belt, near the mouth of the Acheloos, the increase of land appears long ago to have ceased [1].

Such considerations must convince us of the falsity of the hypothesis that the entire tract of level ground below Kalydon is of recent growth. Its creation must, on the contrary, have been already an accomplished fact at least as early as the fifth century before our era. The Phídharis must then have entered the sea through a delta pushed out, as now, far in advance of the original shore-line. On each side of this projection there would be a bight or bay. That on the east, at the base of Mount Varássova, is now silted up: that on the west has not yet entirely disappeared, but remains as the lagoon of Bochóri. We end, therefore, as we began,—with the difficulty that if the Kalydonian port lay at the foot of Mount Varássova, at the point indicated by the springs of Kryonéri and the submarine remains, it was separated from the town by the river Phídharis.

The question thus resolves itself into an estimate of the value of our authority, Pausanias. His account does not reproduce the actual state of things existing in his day. If the harbour which he mentions was that at the base of Mount Varássova, it had disappeared long before his time

[1] Cf. the prophecy of Thucydides (ii. 102) with regard to the Echinades: *καὶ εἰσὶ τῶν νήσων αἱ ἠπείρωνται, ἐλπὶς δὲ καὶ πάσας οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ τινι ἂν χρόνῳ τοῦτο παθεῖν.* Pausanias (viii. 24. 11) is much put to it to account for its non-fulfilment: *τὰς δὲ Ἐχινάδας νήσους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχελῴου μὴ σφᾶς ἤπειρον ἄχρι ἡμῶν ἀπειργάσθαι γέγονε δι' αἰτίας τὸ Αἰτωλῶν ἔθνος· κ.τ.λ.*—the depopulation of the country diminished the quantity of mud carried down by the river! It is perhaps not too much to say that the coast-line about the Acheloos mouth has been stationary precisely during the period to which the chief deposits of the Phídharis are assigned by the theory which we are combating: yet the land-creating power of the Acheloos must greatly exceed that of the Phídharis.

and had become a mere landing-place for boats, just as it is to-day: if it was the bay on the west of the river, it was then silted up and reduced to the condition of a lagoon. Pausanias gives us a legend, the details of which bear but little reference to realities.

We reach, then, the following result. The Kallirhoe springs are those near the khans of Kryonéri at the base of the rock. Here, during the fifth century, there was a small port, the fast disappearing bight on the east of the Phídharis delta. A reference to this port is to be found in the passage of Thucydides in which he speaks of the Athenians having their ships stationed at the Aetolian Chalkis and the mouth of the Euenos[1]. This also was the harbour referred to by Pausanias, although in his day it was no longer in existence. The harbour used by the early inhabitants of Kalydon must have been the bight upon the western side of the delta. The stormy times of later Aetolian history were fatal to the economy of the country; and the gradual decay of the great towns of the coast, culminating in the deliberate depopulation of the whole land, allowed natural forces to work unchecked. The Kalydonian port was partially silted up, and became the lagoon Onthis of Nikander, the 'great lake' which Strabo describes as a source of wealth to Roman speculators at Patrai. Its salt-works and fisheries are still valuable[2].

CHALKIS.

Ten minutes' walk from the ford of the Euenos below Kalydon brings us to the rock of Varássova[3]. The railway runs down between the rock and the river to Kryonéri, the starting-point of the system of North-West Greece[4]. Kryonéri, officially called Kalydon, consists only of three or four rude khans at the base of the rock; its name is derived from

[1] Thuc. ii. 83. See p. 93, *note* 5.

[2] Cf. Trik. Ἱστορία. ii. 364, who says of the whole lagoon: περιέχει δύο ἁλικάς, τὴν μὲν κατὰ τὸ Ἀνατολικὸν τὴν Ἄσπρην, τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὸ Μποχῶρι τὴν Μαύρην.

[3] An alternative name is Mount Galatá. Cf. Leake, N. G. i. 107.

[4] Κρυονέριον, Κρυονερίου Ὅρμος. From this point we cross in less than one hour by steamer to Patras.

the copious springs of the purest water gushing from the foot of the mountain close to the beach: one of them is actually in the sea, and freshens the surrounding water. The immense rock, rising almost perpendicularly to the summit, effectually bars all farther progress in this direction. The only path runs round the northern shoulder of the hill, where other springs are found, then along the valley of the Phídharis, there flowing from east to west, and so down the narrow but beautiful vale of Gavrolímni, between Varássova and Klókova. From Gavrolímni, the Kakí-skala[1],—a road cut in the precipitous face of Mount Klókova,—affords communication with Rumília and the town of Naupaktos.

Varássova is the Mount Chalkis of Strabo. 'After the Euenos,' he says, 'comes Mount Chalkis, called Chalkia by Artemidoros[2].' He falls into confusion in attempting to reconcile his two authorities, Artemidoros and Apollodoros. The former placed his Mount Chalkia between Pleuron and the Acheloos[3]; but the latter insisted that it stood above Molykria, which was east of the Euenos, and put Kalydon between Chalkis and Pleuron. Strabo, therefore, gratuitously imagines two mountains,—Chalkia near Pleuron, and Chalkis on the east of the Euenos, corresponding to the modern Varássova[4].

The town and the mountain bore the same name. As a city, Chalkis 'by the sea' is as old as the Homeric *Catalogue*[5]. To Thucydides also Chalkis is a maritime town, as is clear from the passage already quoted, in which it is conjoined with the mouth of the Euenos as marking the point from which the Athenians bear down upon the Corinthian fleet[6]. Its exposed situation contributed to its capture by the Athenian Tolmides in 455 B.C., some thirty years before the naval victory of Phormion; but even before that date the city had been wrested from the Aetolians by

[1] Κακὴ Σκάλα, Σκάλα Μαυρομμάτη. Mt. Klókova itself is often called Kakí-skala; even in Leake's *Travels* the name Klókova does not appear.

[2] Strabo, p. 459: μετὰ δὲ τὸν Εὔηνον τὸ ὄρος ἡ Χαλκίς, ἣν Χαλκίαν εἴρηκεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος.

[3] *Id.* p. 460: μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἀχελῴου καὶ τῆς Πλευρῶνος ἱδρύων αὐτήν.

[4] Str. *l. c.*: εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἕτερον θετέον τὸ πρὸς Πλευρῶνι ὄρος Χαλκίαν καλούμενον, ἕτερον δὲ τὴν Χαλκίδα τὴν πρὸς Μολυκρείᾳ.

[5] Hom. *Il.* ii. 640: Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχίαλον.

[6] See pp. 93, 106.

the Corinthians[1]. As in the case of Kalydon, the difficulty with respect to Chalkis is not one of topography. The evidence of the ruins themselves is clear and decisive. We have one name Chalkis, and a single site: the two must go together. If the passages of Thucydides alone remained they would be sufficient to establish the identification[2].

From the picturesque khan of Gavrolímni it is two miles down to the sea below the hamlet of Vasilikí[3]. Then, after crossing a low rocky ridge in front of Varássova, it is a short but toilsome climb up the mountain to the northern wall of the kástro. This wall stretches across the path, and when it was perfect it completely closed the road to an enemy advancing from this quarter. Bazin gives the name of the kástro as Pangkalí[4]; Leake as Ovriókastro[5], a title almost as common as the conventional Palaiókastro. The popular belief is that the remains are those of Kalydon, a name which to the peasants is in no way associated with the ruins above Kurtagá. It is a fine specimen of ancient fortification that meets the eye, mutilated in some parts even to complete disappearance, in others almost perfect. The form of the enclosure is peculiar, for it is nothing more than two practically straight walls, one towards the north, the other towards the south; the former closing the road from the vale, the latter that from the sea. On the west the precipices of Varássova, on the east unscalable cliffs, connect the two lines, and at the same time make walls unnecessary on those

[1] Thuc. i. 108: Χαλκίδα Κορινθίων πόλιν εἶλον. In the same expedition he captured Naupaktos, ἐξ ἐφόδου λαβών (Diod. xi. 84).

[2] Strabo (p. 427) says that Chalkis lies ὑποκάτω Καλυδῶνος, 'below,' i. e. south of, Kalydon. This is only to be explained by reference to that passage in which he inaccurately places Kalydon upon the *left* bank of the river Phídharis, and therefore somewhere at the head of the vale of Gavrolímni (Str. p. 451. See p. 132). The true position once given to Kalydon, it is obvious that one would not naturally define the situation of Chalkis by reference to Kalydon at all; some other point of comparison would suggest itself.

[3] Γαυρολίμνη. Βασιλική.

[4] Παγκαλή. *Mém.* p. 362.

[5] N. G. i. 111. My own guide called them Ζέστη or Σέστη. Lolling (Iwan Müller's *Hand.* iii. 139) puts Elaos 'vielleicht auf dem hohen ovalen Hügel nördlich von Sésti, 40 Min. von Kalydon am Wege nach Mesolongi.' Thus two places bear the name, or my guide was mistaken in applying it to the kástro of Gavrolímni. Lolling's Sésti must be the site that we identify as Halikyrna.

two sides. The system of defence is that of short curtains and square towers.

The northern wall is a good specimen of a peculiar species of masonry; the blocks, with a rudely dressed face, are disposed in regular courses, but the joints are oblique. This style can scarcely be designated 'regular Hellenic,' nor yet is it 'irregular' properly so called. The regularity of the courses is not quite perfect; here and there we find stones with portions cut away, the blocks being afterwards squared up by the insertion of smaller pieces very accurately fitted: the symmetry of the courses is thus marred and the appearance of true 'irregular Hellenic' work is produced. The style of the masonry and the elaboration of the details are far ahead of anything seen in Kalydon, and do much to disturb our notions of what is appropriate to a city as old as Homer. In the ruins before us we readily imagine that we have an example of the highest development of the art of fortification in Aetolia.

The most interesting features of the wall are the towers, one of which, that at the extreme north-western angle of the lines, is preserved to a height of ten courses. What strikes us at once is the manner in which they are built as integral parts of the wall and inseparable from it, not as simple projections affixed as it were to the wall after it was completed. The result is that, whereas in the latter case the terre-plein of the tower is on a level with the top of the wall, at Chalkis it is at the natural interior ground level at the base of the wall. A further result must be noticed. When the tower is merely affixed to the wall, it is not provided with loopholes, unless indeed it rises far higher than is really necessary. On the other hand, in the mode adopted at Chalkis, the tower does not project far above the crest of the parapet, and is perforce furnished with loopholes in face and flanks. Lastly, it is evident that at Chalkis we shall look in vain for steps or other device to enable the defenders to man the walls and towers; the garrison went into the towers straight from the general level of the ground inside the walls. The towers of Chalkis, in fact, needed only three sides; the fourth side, that towards the town, and farthest from the enemy, not serving any purpose of defence. What we actually find on this fourth side is a single wall

admitting of the passage of the men into the tower past one or both ends. In the fairly preserved tower in the northern wall, just to the right of the point at which we enter the enceinte, we see that the upper flank has been produced inwards to join this fourth, or interior wall, while the other flank has stopped short and so allowed passage into the tower. In the fine example before alluded to, at the upper end of the northern wall, both flanks have stopped short, so that we have two doorways. The lintel of one of them, composed of a single block, is still *in situ*.

The curtain is built in the usual style, with an outer and an inner face, bonded together at intervals by means of cross-pieces, and filled with earth and boulders; on the other hand, the walls of the towers have only a single stone in the thickness. Near the point at which our path strikes the line of the northern wall the 'filling' has disappeared from between the two faces, so that the skeleton of the wall is left, showing very clearly the mode of its construction. We notice two entrances in this northern wall, one of them just below the larger tower. They are, respectively, just under and just over five feet; a single stone forms the lintel.

The wall on the south is concave, with the concavity facing the sea. It presents no additional points of interest, with the exception of the main gateway piercing its centre. The opening has a width of eleven feet, and it is defended by a tower. The strength of the gateway is very great, as it is completely flanked by the fire of the defenders stationed along the two curving arms of the main wall. The nature of the ground was probably here the prime cause of the adoption of this effective plan; but we shall find it employed elsewhere in Aetolia.

In our first moments of admiration we expressed the opinion that the ruins of Chalkis represent the acme of Aetolian military engineering. It seemed impossible to put Chalkis upon the same level as the other Homeric cities. Is this opinion justified, or have we discovered anything to cause us to attribute to the remains a rank lower than at first sight seemed their due? Our answer to this question must be that the apparent superiority of these ruins over those of Kalydon is largely an illusion. It is a superiority, not of science, which would indicate a later date than that of



WALL OF CHALKIS, SHOWING MODE OF CONSTRUCTION; FROM THE INTERIOR OF THE FORTRESS.

the remains at Kurtagá, but of site, which indicates absolutely nothing. There is, in fact, no sign at Chalkis of comparative lateness of date, with the exception of the thorough-going adoption of the square tower. The older systems, of the plain wall or of short flanks, are here abandoned for that which became usual during the most advanced period; but *per se* the employment of the square tower does not prove that a really late date must be assigned to these remains, for that system itself goes back to a remote antiquity. The technical characteristics displayed in the towers of Chalkis are distinct and valuable indications of date. It took time for men to discover that it was better for the tower to be structurally independent of the curtain. The full discussion of these points belongs to the as yet unwritten history of the art of fortification in Greece; it must here be accepted without argument, that, in the somewhat poor and stunted proportions of the towers, the inadequate manner in which they enfilade the curtain, their structural relation to it, and the general absence of breadth and largeness of design, we have evidence of an epoch in which military engineers were not yet fully masters of their art. Accidents of the ground still exercised an undue influence, and science was not sufficiently advanced to be able to give their proper value to the various features in the whole scheme of defence.

The northern wall is entirely anomalous. The excessive fall of the ground in the direction of its length from west to east, and again from the wall downwards towards the hollow at the foot of the hill, made it impossible for the lines to be carried by assault, and equally impossible for them to be gained by regular siege approaches. In the absence of ordnance and long-range weapons the position is impregnable. There was thus no real necessity for the flanking defence provided by the towers. The towers themselves show that this was partially recognized, for they are not, strictly speaking, loopholed or fitted with embrasures; the openings in them were designed merely to supply an outlook for the guard. Their form plainly indicates their real purpose: they are triangular apertures or else real ogives, not ordinary quadrangular embrasures. It is only necessary to stand at one of the openings to be convinced. Those on the face and lower flank have a view to the east and

south-east over the Gulf of Corinth and the Achaian coast from Patras to the promontories of Rhion and Antirrhion. Not a movement taking place over this expanse could escape the sentinels of Chalkis perched on the side of Varássova; the main gate in the southern wall allowed the garrison to descend in a moment from its eyrie to the tiny port, ready to aid retreating friends or to overwhelm a too venturesome enemy. The towers were, therefore, really only posts of observation: hence their feeble saillie, their slight elevation above the parapet, the disproportion between the thickness of the curtain and their own thin single wall. It was surely, however, no advanced science that thus weakened the salient points in the line, in addition to depriving them of all utility as flanking defences.

The conclusion to which we come at last is this: that we have before us an example showing an undoubted scientific advance, but that, partly owing to the natural strength of the site, partly again owing to the quality of the material, one that almost demanded the treatment seen in the actual style of the masonry, the amount of advance is liable to be overestimated. It is not really the work of an epoch much more skilled than that of the builders of Kalydon. This is precisely the conclusion that squares with the facts of history, for Kalydon and the other Homeric cities are not all upon the same level. As we proceed we shall find that their ruins bear witness to their diverse fate and their diverse share in the history of the country. And of all the earlier vicissitudes experienced by men and cities in Southern Aetolia those of Chalkis alone fall on this side the mythical period: they are part and parcel of those movements upon both shores of the Corinthian Gulf which are already material for sober history. Wrested as it was from Aetolia by Corinth, and from Corinth in turn by Athens, before the middle of the fifth century before our era, it would be hazardous to maintain that those changes in ownership did not produce changes in the outward appearance of the town. A valuable post like Chalkis would undoubtedly be fortified by each fresh possessor in the most complete manner known at the time, and to this is due the superiority of its defences over those of its companion cities.

In addition to Chalkis we hear also of Hypochalkis.



TOWER OF CHALKIS, AND VIEW OVER THE CORINTHIAN GULF: THE KAKI-SKALA TO THE LEFT.

Strabo writes:—'Taphiassos and Chalkis, mountains of Aetolia, of some elevation; upon them are the towns Makynia and Chalkis, which latter is named after the mountain, and is also called Hypochalkis[1].' Chalkis the town, therefore, was also called Hypochalkis, from its situation at the base of Chalkis the hill. There is no ground for the difficulties of the earlier writers on Aetolian topography, such as Kruse and Becker. The former regards Chalkis as the citadel, and Hypochalkis as the town in the plain[2]. Becker thinks that Hypochalkis was the small port (which is now a marsh, called λίμνη) at the foot of the kástro which we have described[3]. This, he says, was the site of the Chalkis of Homer and Thucydides, the

> 'Ioniis et fluctibus hospita portu
> Chalcis'

of Statius[4]. In course of time, owing perhaps to the Corinthian and Athenian conquests, or the inroads of the Macedonians and their allies, the town was, he imagines, removed to the head of the valley, about the village of Mavromáti. The Χάλκεια of Polybios[5] is thought by Becker to be the name of the valley itself, between the port and the new site of the town. All this is very clumsy and gratuitous. There are no ruins at Mavromáti; and Chalkeia, like the Chalkia of Artemidoros, is a simple variant for Chalkis. Becker seems to have been led to his hypotheses by Ptolemy, who makes Chalkis an inland town[6]. The words of our English historian of ancient geography are a sufficient criticism on this:—

> 'The blind, and almost superstitious, reverence, with which Ptolemy was regarded throughout the Middle Ages, has descended in some degree to our own days: and it is not uncommon to find writers referring to his statements, as if his *apparently* definite and scientific results must necessarily be based upon definite information and scientific calculation. ... Even at the present day there still remains a lingering desire to prove him in the right if possible, and to believe in the accuracy of

[1] Str. p. 451: Ταφιασσὸν καὶ Χαλκίδα, ὄρη ἱκανῶς ὑψηλά, ἐφ' οἷς πολίχνια ἵδρυτο Μακυνία τε καὶ Χαλκίς, ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὄρει, ἣν καὶ Ὑποχαλκίδα καλοῦσι. Cf. Steph. Byz.: διὰ τὸ ὑποκεῖσθαι ὄρει λεγομένῳ Χαλκίδι.

[2] Kruse, *Hellas*, ii. 245.

[3] Becker, *Diss.* iii. 23.

[4] Stat. *Theb.* iv. 105.

[5] Pol. v. 94.

[6] Ptol. iii. 14. 13: Αἰτωλίας μεσόγειοι:—Χαλκίς, Ἄραχθος, Πλευρών, Ὦλενος, Καλυδών.

geographical positions which could not possibly have been founded on actual observations[1].'

HALIKYRNA.

The plain between Kalydon and Mesolónghi is not entirely destitute of remains. About half-way between Bochóri and Mesolónghi the bare ridges at the foot of the Zygós approach the road. The slopes at this point are covered with the ruins of a village of the Middle Ages: the site is now called Chília Spítia[2], the 'Thousand Houses.' The village was built upon the site of an Hellenic town, for, hardly to be recognized, there still exists among the ruins on the western face of the hill a fragment of wall of much ruder style than that of Kalydon or Chalkis.

There is no doubt possible as to the name to be attached to these insignificant ruins; they are those of Halikyrna. Pliny puts both Halikyrna and Pleuron in the interior[3], but the mere name of the former town would guide us to the coast in our search for its site[4]. Strabo, however, gives us the means of correcting his mistake and of identifying the place. He says that Halikyrna lay thirty stades below Kalydon, that is, towards the sea[5]. This is very nearly the actual distance, some three and a half miles, that separates Chília Spítia from the ruins at Kurtagá. Nothing more can be said of the town, except that it must have been in existence down to Roman times, for not far distant are the remains noticed by Leake as probably those of Roman baths. 'Two chambers subsist which have curved and arched niches in the walls, and in the outside several holes, one of which is partly filled with indurated sediment formed by a long continued course of water[6].' Leake also identifies the site as that of Halikyrna.

[1] Bunbury, *Hist. of Anc. Geogr.* ii. 553.

[2] Χίλια Σπήτια.

[3] Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 3: 'in mediterraneo Pleuron Halicyrna.'

[4] The name appears in Asia Minor as Halikarnassos, 'by the addition of the suffix -sa or -ssos, which is so common in Asia Minor': Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of A. M.* p. 405. Salt-pans have perhaps existed on the shore of the Kalydonian lake from the earliest times.

[5] Str. p. 459: *εἶθ' ἡ Ἁλίκυρνα κώμη, ἧς ὑπέρκειται Καλυδὼν ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ σταδίοις τριάκοντα.* Cf. Skyl. § 35.

[6] Leake, N. G. iii. 533.



TOWER AND WALL OF NEW PLEURON; FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

CHAPTER X.

The Coast Plain.

II.

After crossing the three or four miles of level ground lying between Mesolónghi and the Zygós, we reach a steep rocky shrub-covered hill which projects from the main chain and falls to the plain in two distinct terraces. As we ascend it we see near the path, and on the lower terrace, small quadrangular platforms, short lines of wall, and the *débris* of ancient buildings, all constructed of fair white limestone blocks. On the upper terrace, facing south [1], is the Kástro of Kyra-Eiríni [2]. The path cuts the southern line of wall, not far from the angle at which the line breaks suddenly northwards. We find ourselves in a roughly quadrangular enclosure, about a mile and a half in circuit [3]. The walls can be followed throughout the whole extent of their development, varying from a single course in height,—as at the point at which we enter,—to five, eight, or even fifteen courses along the west and east of the enceinte. The style of building shows that the defences of the city were completed on a single plan; there is no trace of alterations or repairs, or of deviations to meet unforeseen requirements and difficulties. Quadrangular blocks are employed, in courses of varying depth that cut into each other capriciously, and thus

[1] Cf. Leake, N. G. i. 115: 'enclosing the western face of a very steep and rugged height.' Pouqueville, *Voy.* iii. 537, is correct: 'au penchant méridional du mont Aracynthe'; but in other respects his account is a tissue of fabrications.

[2] Κυρὰ-Εἰρήνη, Κυρειρήνη, Τὸ κάστρο τῆς Κυρίας Εἰρήνης.

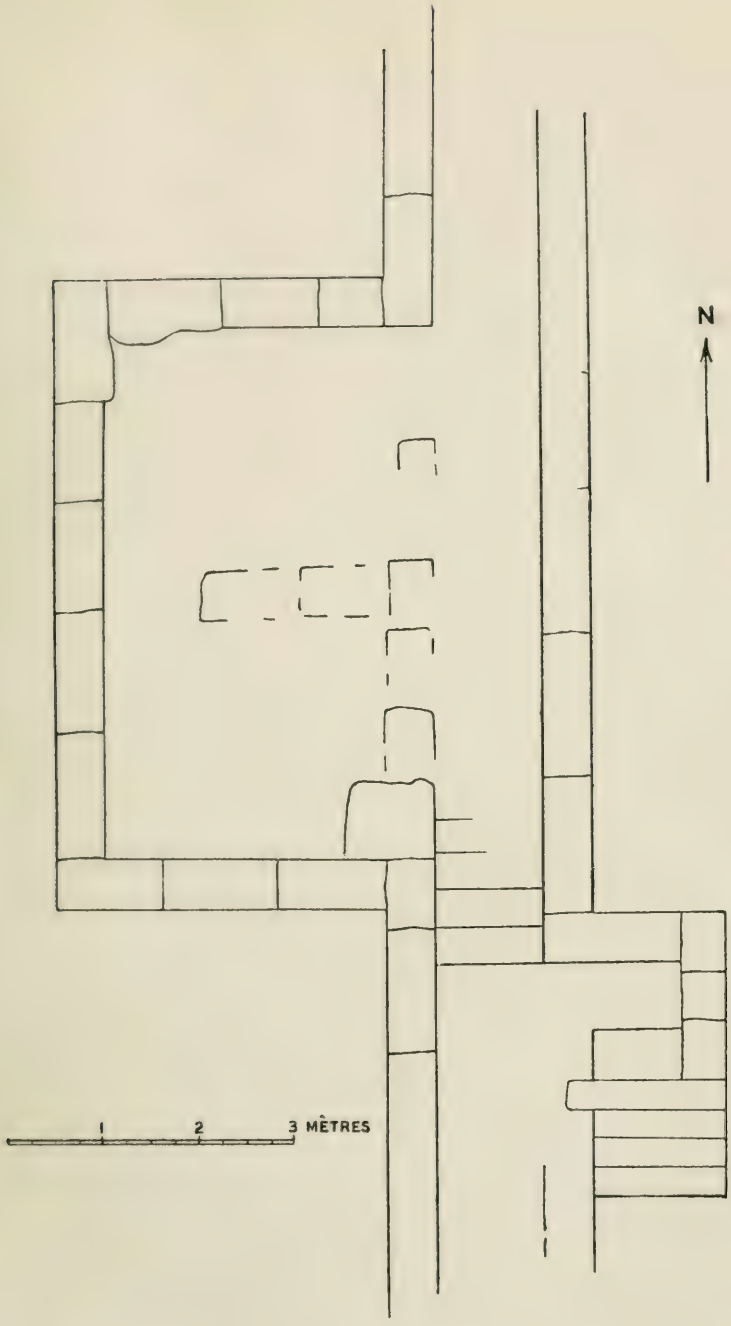
[3] Leake, N. G. *l. c.*: 'about a mile.' Mure, *Journal.* i. 140: 'may be near two miles.' Bazin, *Mém.* p. 346: 'environ deux kilomètres.'

relieve the monotony of long lines running at a uniform level. This, however, is a merely incidental effect, the probable reason for the cutting-in being to enable the workman to utilize stones that were otherwise too narrow, or that were slightly damaged. For the same reason the joints make any angle with the horizontal, thus allowing the builder to use as much as possible of the block that he dressed. A more perfect bonding was also secured by means of this *empiètement* and obliquity, which are characteristic of 'irregular Hellenic' work.

The scheme of the fortifications is not elaborate, consisting only of a continuous series of straight curtains and square towers, thirty or more in number[1]. The nature of the ground did not call for any modification of this simple idea. As is almost invariably the case in this class of fortification, the wall has an outer and an inner face, each averaging eighteen inches in width; the interval being filled with earth and smaller stones. At irregular distances, the two faces are bonded together by the insertion of a cross-piece, or 'header.' The average thickness of the whole is six feet. There is much variation in the length of the curtain; in some cases it measures as little as one hundred feet, in others as much as two hundred and fifty. The towers also differ in their dimensions; they project, in the majority of cases, nine or ten feet from the curtain, and their face-measurement varies from ten to sixteen or even twenty-four feet. They are all provided with the significant vertical chisel draft at the exterior angles.

Some interesting details are preserved here that distinguish these works from those of Chalkis. On the inside of the wall we still find in good preservation the steps by means of which the defenders mounted either directly to the terre-plein of the tower, or in some cases to the wall first and then by a second short flight into the tower itself. The number of steps varies with the level of the ground inside the wall. It seems probable that the towers were not built in stories. In spite of their great strength and better preservation, we do not find them rising above the level of the curtain on either side; nowhere at Kyreiríni are there seen towers reaching the great height of many of those at

[1] Leake (N. G. i. 116) speaks as if there were only two towers.



I. NEW PLEURON. SECOND TOWER NORTH OF MAIN GATE, WITH STEPS LEADING INTO TOWER.

To face p. 116.



GATE IN EASTERN WALL, NEW PLEURON; LOOKING EAST.

Messene, for example, or at Aigosthena. Dodwell is wrong in saying that the upper storey has in all cases fallen[1], for there does not exist at the base of the towers that pile of *débris* which we should then expect to find. The conclusion is forced upon us, that the towers here never rose more than breast-high above the platform to which the flight of steps gave access. Consequently, we miss also the loopholes and traces of the roof found in the examples above quoted,—for the reason that neither roof nor loopholes were ever possessed by the towers of Kyra-Eiríni. The outer face of the curtain may have risen originally somewhat higher than the inner one, in order to screen those who passed from tower to tower along the wall[2].

No fewer than seven gateways can be counted,—three in each wall on the west and east, and one in the south. With one exception, they are all in a state of ruin. The one perfect gate, however, stands to-day in practically the same condition as when first built: it is found in the eastern wall, immediately below the Agora. Its breadth measures five feet six inches, and its height nine feet. The length of the passage, in other words the thickness of the wall, is six and a half feet. In the lintel and threshold stones we see the holes in which the pivot of the door turned, the projecting jamb against which the door closed, and, in each side of the passage, the square opening designed to receive the great beam that fastened it, in the primitive but effectual fashion still observed in the Greek peasant's cottage[3].

The main gateway, built on a much grander scale than the rest, is placed near the south-western angle of the enclosure. Its plan is easily recoverable, in spite of its dilapidated condition. The first object that strikes the eye is the lintel, a single stone of great size lying against the side of the passage; it is twelve feet long, and three feet wide, and stands out conspicuously against the grey hill-side, so that it is distinctly visible even from Mesolónghi. The plan shows clearly the ingenious but straightforward solution of the

[1] Dod. *Tour.* i. 97.

[2] Or the defence of the place may have been made entirely from the towers.

[3] Cf. Thuc. ii. 4: *τὰς πύλας . . . ἔκλῃσε στυρακίῳ ἀκοντίου ἀντὶ βαλάνου χρησάμενος ἐς τὸν μοχλόν*, at Plataia.

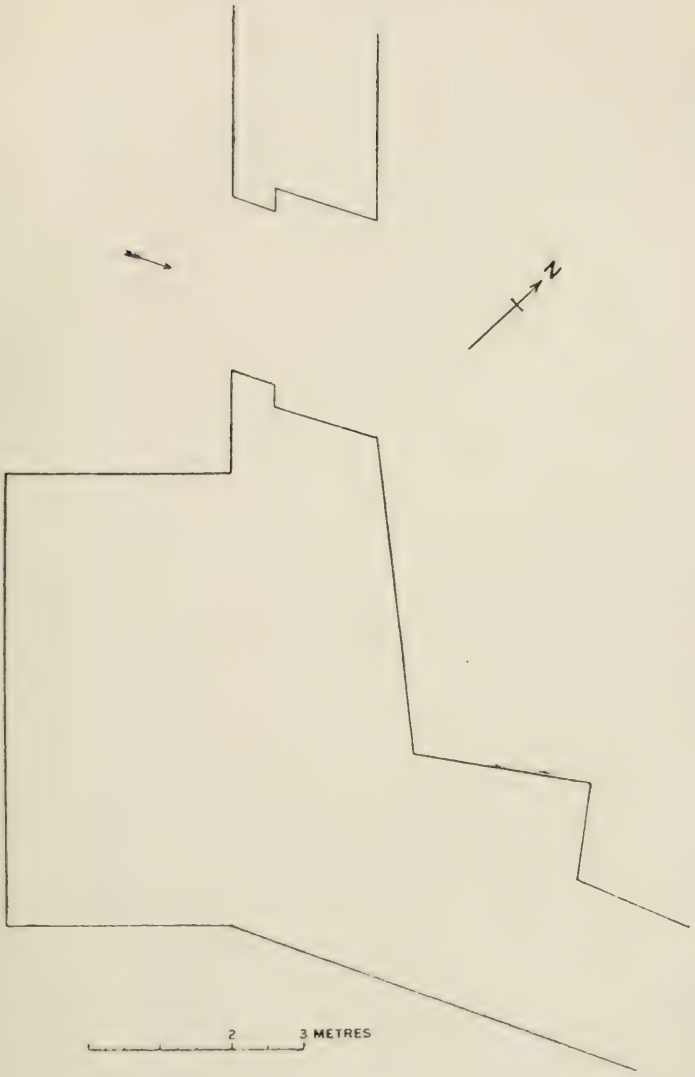
double problem before the engineer,—to provide for the adequate defence of the entrance in accordance with the general principles of the art of fortification, and to combine this with a position at the angle. The whole work is of immense strength, and some of the stones in the walls and towers near the gateway are of astonishing dimensions. Naturally there would be a tendency to increase the scale of work in a prominent position like that of the principal entrance[1]. The general idea is that of Greek military architecture at all periods,—to mass the provisions for defence upon the right, or unshielded, side of an approaching enemy. Hence, on the one side of the gateway there is a long stretch of wall without any projection, while on the other every attempt has been made to cover the approach. So far as we can see, nothing has been done to facilitate traffic by the construction of a road leading through the gate into the city. This is one of the many points in which the Hellenic polis refuses to conform to modern ideas.

In the western wall are the mutilated remains of a gateway the lintel of which, apparently, was arched. As in the examples at Stratos and elsewhere, the arch was effected by means of stones nicely shaped to the curve[2]. A gateway much smaller than any yet mentioned, one having an opening less than a yard in width, exists in a tower on this western side of the town. The lintel, if one ever existed, must have been a single slab. In two respects this small entrance is interesting. In the first place, outside it there are the remains of an ancient road leading down the hill into the plain. A short piece of rude stone embankment runs obliquely outwards from the angle of the tower and supports the roadway. At the end of a few yards all trace of it is lost; beyond that point the inhabitants of the city were content with a simple track through the rocks. The second point of interest is the fact that this road leads, through a second similar opening in the adjacent inner side of the tower, into the orchestra of a tiny theatre lying close to the town wall.

The theatre of the kástro of Irene is probably the smallest in Greece. Eight rows of seats rest upon the rock,

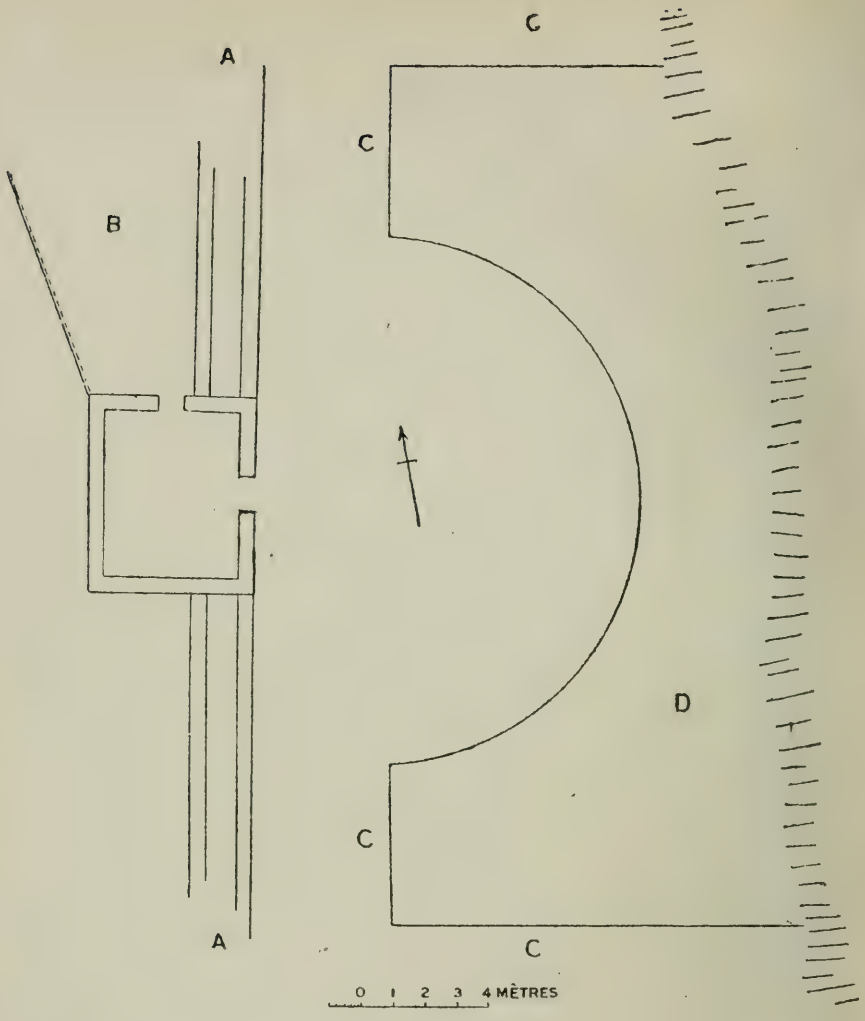
[1] Cf. Leake, N. G. i. 116; Heuzey, *L'Acarnanie*. p. 409.

[2] I think that this is the only example of this method, within the limits of Aetolia proper.



2. NEW PLEURON. PLAN OF MAIN GATEWAY.

To face p. 118.



3. NEW PLEURON. PLAN OF THEATRE.

AA. CITY WALL.

B. ROADWAY.

CC. RETAINING WALLS OF THEATRE.

D. PLACE OF SEATS.

To face p. 119.

supported at each end by a well-built retaining-wall. The diameter of the orchestra is slightly under fifty-four feet, and thirteen feet divide the retaining-walls from the inner face of the town wall in front of the semicircle of seats. There is nothing of an ornamental character in the construction; the seats are simple blocks of stone, not even smoothly dressed, lying upon the slope, and apparently without any provision to keep them in position.

The most interesting feature is the fact that, owing to the smallness of the space between the retaining and the city walls, the stage, if there ever was one, must have been placed against the wall of the enceinte itself; but it would be hard to reconcile this with the actual existence of the door leading through the wall into the orchestra. Secondly, we note the entire absence of stage-buildings. Dodwell is mistaken in speaking of the remains of a proskenion[1]. The tower itself may have served all the purposes of a dressing-room; but, if so, the inference is obvious and necessary, that the actor came straight into the orchestra and that there was no stage. It is, of course, possible that the interior face of the town wall supported a stage, while the exterior face, rising higher, served as a background to it[2]. Still, we must notice that both faces of the wall now stand at the same height, and that there are no signs of such an arrangement. The tiny dimensions and the peculiar situation of the structure suggest another possibility,—that it is not a theatre at all, but something of the nature of a Bouleuterion, or Council-house. This, however, is nothing more than a possible interpretation, and as such it does not justify us in excluding this Aetolian example from the list of those to which appeal may be made regarding the arrangements of the Greek theatre.

Proceeding from the theatre eastwards up the ridge we come across the second problem presented by these ruins.

[1] *Pelasgic Remains*. p. 17; cf. Plate 29, which is very incorrect and fanciful. So Pomardi (*Viaggio*. i. 37) writes: 'che ancora conserva una parte della scena.'

[2] I find that this suggestion is anticipated by Mure, *Journal*. i. 141: 'so that the stage must have been identical with the interior parapet of the wall; while the battlements, and one of the towers comprehended within the space it occupied, may have afforded the groundwork for the decorations of the scene and the working of the stage mechanism.'

We suddenly find ourselves upon the brink of a huge chasm in the rocks. It is a roughly quadrangular excavation in the slope, one hundred feet long, from east to west, and sixty-nine feet wide, with a present depth of about fourteen feet. Four parallel, but not equidistant, walls, one stone in the thickness, run from side to side and divide it into five oblong chambers of unequal size[1]. These partition walls are built in the most regular manner, of narrow quadrangular blocks with upright joints and even courses; but they possess two peculiarities. The two lower and longer cross-walls are pierced with three triangular doorways of unequal size; the two upper and shorter walls have two such openings. All four walls, in addition, are pierced with small square and triangular holes scattered irregularly over their face. Lastly, a long thin slab which still spans the lowest and narrowest chamber seems to indicate that originally this strange and unique structure was covered with a roof.

'Look! the Prisons,' is the traditional explanation volunteered by the peasants[2], but there is nothing in the remains to support this theory of their use. Leake calls the building a cistern, but adds: 'the intention of these walls and openings in such an excavation it is not very easy to explain[3].' It has also been suggested that the structure served as a corn magazine[4], but to this there are two insuperable objections. Firstly, there were apparently no means of descending into the excavation. Secondly, within it there is no trace of stucco or of masonry other than the cross-walls[5]; whereas,

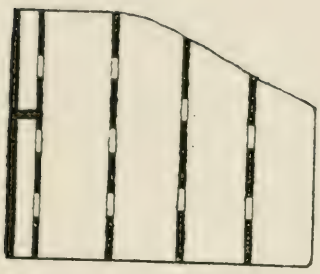
[1] Dodwell, *Pelasgic Remains*. p. 16, has several errors:—five parallel walls and six chambers; two ends roofed; each cross-wall with three apertures. Yet his Plate 28 is correct, only the end chamber is much too narrow. He gives a view of one cross-wall in Plate 27. In his *Tour*. i. 98, he rightly says: 'across the breadth of this chamber are four parallel walls.'

[2] 'Νὰ ταῖς φυλακαῖς!' The name is very commonly given throughout Greece to tombs and such like.

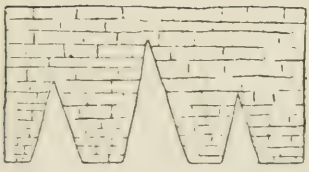
[3] Leake, N. G. i. 116. And Lolling (Müller's *Handb*. iii. 139) calls it 'ein noch rätselhafter Bau.'

[4] Cf. Bursian, *Geogr*. i. 131: 'welches entweder zu einem Magazin für Getreide und ähnliche Vorräthe oder zu einem Gefängnisse gedient zu haben scheint.' *Ibid. note* 1: 'Leake hielt es für eine Cisterne, für welche die Zwischenmauern mit den Thüren ganz zweckwidrig wären'!

[5] With the exception of the lining of the lower (western) end of the excavation.



4.



5.

NEW PLEURON. GREAT CISTERN.

4. PLAN. Scale $\frac{1}{8}'' = 1^{m}$.

5. ELEVATION OF CROSS-WALL.

To face p. 120.



THE GREAT CISTERN OF NEW PLEURON; FROM THE SOUTH.

if intended to store grain, the sides would have been made damp-proof. The only really satisfactory explanation is that it was the great cistern of the city[1]; for the inhabitants of this town, high on the bare slopes of the arid Zygós, were entirely dependent, in time of siege at least, upon artificial stores of water. The cross-walls were the rude device adopted for supporting the flat roof of slabs, possibly heaped with earth, that kept the water fresh and clean. The openings, large and small, allowed the contents to sink to a uniform level,—the clumsy substitute for the more economical but more difficult arch. Some simple machine would be used to raise the water, so that it was not necessary to contrive means of descent into the reservoir. The fall of the ground favours this theory as to the use of the structure, for most of the water from the Agora on the east and the akropolis on the north would gather to this point. We notice also that the upper end of the excavation is left as it was cut originally out of the rock, whereas the lower end is lined with masonry similar to that of the four cross-walls. The pit would in the first instance serve as a quarry from which material was extracted for the walls and buildings of the town. Several similar but much smaller openings lie in its neighbourhood, but none of them contain traces of masonry[2].

Just above the cistern the top of the terrace forms a large level space containing many important remains. On it were placed the chief buildings of the city. The most striking feature is the rectangular foundation, one hundred and ninety-three feet long and thirty-three feet wide, lying on the eastern verge of the plateau, where it begins to sink towards the eastern wall of the city and the perfect gate before described. The direction of the longer axis of the rectangle is from north-west to south-east. Its enclosing

[1] So Mure, *Journal.* i. 141; Gell, *Itin.* p. 229; Baz. *Mém.* p. 348. We may compare a cistern at Thouria in Messenia, where the excavation, made partly in the solid rock, is 76½ feet long, from E. to W., and 50 feet broad: depth 5-12 feet. When I saw it, in 1890, all trace of its two dividing walls had vanished, and the interior was under cultivation. It is known locally as the Φυλακή. See Curtius, *Pel.* ii. 161; Bursian, *Geogr.* ii. 169.

[2] On the east, below the Agora, one is lined with stucco; a flight of steps leads down into it, so that it may have been a bath.

walls, bounding its eastern, northern, and southern sides, with a short return from the ends of the two latter, stand almost uninjured to a uniform height of one course, or two feet. Descending to the lower level, below the eastern boundary wall, we see the two lower courses, built of large stones in almost perfect 'regular Hellenic,' the most beautiful work in the city. As the wall of the rectangle stands to exactly the same height all the way round, it is possible that it never rose any higher; it is extremely improbable that the upper courses should have fallen to precisely the same extent everywhere, and there are, in fact, practically no remains of masonry on the lower level. Although we have spoken of the enclosure as rectangular, this is not strictly correct, for about the middle there is a large square projection from the line of the eastern wall. It seems likely also that the southern end was not completely closed, but that a passage was left to other constructions situated upon the slightly higher ground at that end of the rectangle. These structures, too much injured and overgrown to show their plan very clearly, consist of square and semicircular edifices. The blocks shaped to the arc of a circle seem to indicate that one or more *exhedrae* existed in this quarter. Along the line of the western side of the enclosure many pedestals are lying at fairly regular intervals, decorated with a simple moulding; there is not a vestige of columns or piers.

Without excavation and a complete examination of the remains, it is impossible to attempt the reconstruction of the buildings covering this space. Clearly we have before us the Agora of the city and traces of the public buildings grouped near it, but the exact arrangement of the parts is a problem not to be solved by mere inspection of the *débris* scattered over the surface of the ground. The great rectangle may have been something of the nature of a Stoa, though the pedestals do not seem to have supported columns[1], and there are no indications of a roof. If we rightly surmise that the walls did not originally rise higher than they do now, then the remains are not those of a Stoa in the usual sense, but of an open promenade, with pedestals along the fourth side, perhaps supporting works of art. No

[1] Gell, however, *Itin.* p. 299, says: 'the remains of a portico in it are visible, the columns of which are 2 feet 6 inches in diameter.'



AGORA OF NEW PLEURON; FROM THE SOUTH.

fragment of such works, however, nor of inscriptions, seems ever to have been found on the site.

The terrace on which these remains lie rises in a northerly direction in a steep swell, which is wholly included within the enceinte. This hill constituted the akropolis, being separated from the lower city by a cross-wall armed with square towers. The whole quadrilateral embraced by the fortifications is thus unequally divided into a northern and southern portion, but the wall of division is entirely ruined. Apparently no regular pathway led from the lower city to the akropolis, and it is exceedingly difficult ground. Nothing is found on the height except a Byzantine cistern, and a ruined church of the same epoch, perhaps occupying the site of an Hellenic temple. In the ruins of the church Leake and others saw fragments of white marble shafts of the Doric order [1].

In addition to the remains described above, the entire site is covered with rectangular terraces built in the beautiful 'regular Hellenic' style of the Agora wall, or in the scarcely less beautiful 'irregular Hellenic' of the town walls. Their dimensions are very diverse; of the buildings for which they provided a solid level foundation on the slope, there is not a vestige to be discovered [2].

Such are the main features of these remarkable ruins. We strain our ears in vain for some echo out of the past from which to learn the origin of their present name. It is a coincidence that the most striking ruins and the most striking mountain of Aetolia should both owe their modern appellation to Byzantine princesses; but of Irene and Eugenie history and tradition alike are silent [3]. As compared with those of Chalkis, these remains show a real and great advance in science; there is about them that which

[1] N. G. i. 117. Gell, *Itin.* p. 299: 'In the citadel are fragments of Doric columns, in white marble, the flutings of which are 3 inches wide, and others 5 inches and three quarters.' I did not see them, nor did Bazin (*Mém.* p. 350).

[2] Both within and without the walls of this kástro there are many other most interesting remains of antiquity. The detailed description of the site would run to many pages: here we must be content with the barest outline.

[3] Dodwell, *Tour.* i. 96, says that Irene was a 'saint, who was a Thessalonican, and suffered martyrdom under the emperor Diocletian.'

convinces us that we are removed by centuries from the crudities of early art as exemplified in the kástro of Gavrolímni. Nevertheless, certain peculiarities exhibited by the works of Kyra-Eiríni seem incompatible with the date to which they must be assigned. The real place of these ruins in the history of Greek fortification cannot be discovered by a merely superficial examination; but this is not the place in which to give more.

To what town of ancient Aetolia do these remains belong[1]? Pouqueville and Leake identified them as those of New Pleuron[2]. Two cities bore the name of Pleuron, for Demetrios of Macedon, about 235 B.C., made an expedition into Aetolia[3] and sacked Old Pleuron; its inhabitants guarded against the recurrence of the mishap by establishing themselves in a less exposed situation. Strabo[4] describes the old city as 'lying near Kalydon in a fertile plain,' whereas the new city was on Mount Arakynthos. That Mount Arakynthos is the modern Zygós is proved by Dionysios Periegetes, according to whom Arakynthos bounded on the south the 'great plain of the Aetolians[5].' Strabo also says that Lysimacheia lay between Pleuron and Arsinoe[6]. Since Lysimacheia and Arsinoe are certainly the sites occupied by the modern Pappadhátais and Anghelókastron respectively, the situation of New Pleuron upon the south-western face of the Zygós, close to the path leading across the range to

[1] Mure, *Journal.* i. 135, found that 'the learned of Mesolónghi had, with a proper regard for the credit of their own environs, very naturally, though erroneously, baptized them by the name of Calydon,' which is copied from Dodwell, *Tour.* i. 99. Gell, *Itin.* p. 297, calls them Kalydon. Dodwell, *Tour.* i. 100, says: 'If then the marsh Natoliko is the Melite of Strabo, the ancient town near it may be Oeniadai.' In the *Viaggio nella Grecia*, i. 38, of Pomardi (Dodwell's artist), this becomes: 'io credo che probabilmente fu la novella Oeniade.'

[2] Leake, N. G. i. 118.

[3] Cf. Droysen, *Gesch. der Epig.* ii. 36.

[4] Str. p. 451: *ἐγγὺς κειμένην Καλυδῶνος . . . εὔκαρπον οὖσαν καὶ πεδιάδα.* The new city is *περὶ τὸν Ἀράκυνθον, ibid.*

[5] Dion. *l.* 431:—

> *Τῆς δ' ὑπὲρ ἐς νότον εἶσι, ὑπὸ σκοπιὴν Ἀρακύνθου,*
> *ἀνδρῶν Αἰτωλῶν πεδίον μέγα· τοῦ διὰ μέσσου*
> *σύρεται ὁλκὸν ἄγων Ἀχελώιος ἀργυροδίνης.*

Cf. the Latin translations of Avienus (*l.* 591) and Priscian (*l.* 445).

[6] Str. p. 460.

Kerásovon and Pappadhátais, suits Strabo's words well enough. Although he ought to be speaking of the old town, the poet Statius gives us a description of the view from the new foundation, the only Pleuron with which he would be acquainted. Tydeus cries to Athena:—'If I return to warlike Pleuron I will raise to thee upon the heights in the midst of the city a temple rich with the sheen of gold; thence shall one look with delight upon the storms of the Ionian main and the place where the turbid Acheloos, bursting through the barrier Echinades, lashes the deep with his tawny billows[1].' The description is nearer the truth than we might expect; it is, in fact, a fair picture of the view to the west from the kástro of Kyría Eiríni,—the opening of the Gulf of Corinth into the Ionian Sea and the promontory of Kurtzolári which covers the mouth of the Aspropótamo,—and there are no other remains upon the Zygós from which such a view can be obtained. Finally, if Thucydides enumerated the places in their correct order, his account of the march of Eurylochos from Lokris confirms the identification. The Spartan general moved from Molykreion to Kalydon, Pleuron, and Proschion, where he remained until he crossed the Acheloos[2].

The temple of Athena at Pleuron seems to have had some celebrity. Dionysios, son of Kalliphon, writes[3]:—'Next comes Aetolia, in which is Pleuron with the holy shrine that bears Athena's name.' The reference on the part of Statius has already been quoted. Leake suggested that the Byzantine church on the akropolis of Kyreiríni might indicate the site of this temple: but we must ask the question, to which town did the shrine really belong,—to New or to Old Pleuron? If the poetical Description of Greece which we have quoted under the name of Dionysios, son of Kalliphon, were really the work of Dikaiarchos, to whom it used to be ascribed, or if it was based upon the Γῆς Περίοδος of Dikaiarchos, it would afford a presumption that the temple belonged to the older city; for Dikaiarchos was

[1] Stat. *Theb.* 727 fol.

[2] Thuc. iii. 102.

[3] Dion. Kall. *l.* 57:—

Ἔχεται δ' Αἰτωλία,
ἐν ᾗ πόλις Πλευρὼν ὑπόκειται, χίερόν
ἅγιον Ἀθηνᾶς ἐιτὶν ὠνομασμένον.

a contemporary of Alexander the Great, whereas New Pleuron is certainly posterior to 235 B.C. We may perhaps take it, then, that the temple belonged to the old city, and that it continued to exist after the lower site had been abandoned by its inhabitants in favour of the more secure slopes of Mount Arakynthos. If then Leake is right, as he probably is, in locating the temple of Athena upon the akropolis of Kyra-Eiríni, we have two alternatives before us,—either the shrine existed from the first upon the summit that, subsequently to 235 B.C., became the akropolis of New Pleuron, or one was there built to take the place of the original shrine on the site of Old Pleuron. The former is perhaps the more probable hypothesis[1]. If we accept it, the description furnished by Statius turns out somewhat curiously not to be the anachronism we imagined, for the Ionian Sea and the estuary of the Acheloos were, and always had been, visible from the temple on the hill-top, the building of which lay far back in a forgotten past.

With respect to this Aetolian cult of Athena we are unable to say anything. Aetolian gold coins show the head of Pallas with Corinthian helmet ornamented with crest and griffins[2]. Though there is nothing distinctively Aetolian about the type, we may perhaps see in it the contribution of Pleuron to the national coinage; just as the jaw-bone and head of the boar were derived from Kalydon. The same principle underlies the selection of deities to represent Aetolia at Delphi, where, by way of commemorating the defeat of the Galatai, the League dedicated statues of Athena, Artemis, and Apollo[3]; in which we must undoubtedly see a reference to the worship of those deities at Pleuron, Kalydon, and Thermon respectively. The unfortunate fact that the Aetolian cities issued no separate coinage, and that consequently the Federal coins date only from about 280 B.C.,

[1] In that case the temple must have been outside the walls, so long as Old Pleuron in the plain continued to be inhabited. Cf. that of Apollo and Artemis at Kalydon, p. 96.

[2] Brit. Mus. Cat. *Thessaly to Aetolia*, p. 194.

[3] Paus. x. 15. 2: Ἀρτέμιδος, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς, δύο τε Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγάλματα ἔστιν Αἰτωλῶν, ἡνίκα σφίσιν ἐξειργάσθη τὰ ἐς Γαλάτας. *Two* statues of Apollo, to mark, perhaps, the superior position of Thermon: or on account of the close connexion of Apollo with the whole story of the invasion and its repulse.

prevents our gathering anything from Numismatics with regard to local types of divinities in Aetolia[1].

Whatever may be the importance of New Pleuron in the history of Aetolian fortification, it does not play a large part in the political history of the nation: it gives only one Strategos to the League[2]. The reason of this insignificance is very clear. The site possesses no strategic value; it lies on no main thoroughfare. Early history had proved Old Aetolia to be a nonentity in politics, but the strategic and economic disadvantages of that site were accentuated in the situation chosen for the new city[3]. The treaty with which Rome completed the ruin of Aetolia in 189 B. C. gave the town to the Achaians. We learn from Pausanias that Sulpicius Gallus allowed an Aetolian embassy to go to Rome to pray for a dissolution of the odious connexion[4]. Rome, then no longer apprehensive of Aetolia, granted the boon as a means of breaking in its turn the Achaian power. After this, New Pleuron is heard of no more, except as a name in Aetolian geography[5].

OLD PLEURON.

Looking southwards from the walls of New Pleuron, we see below us two lesser heights separated by a depression from each other, and by a torrent and narrow waste arm

[1] The Laphrian Artemis is scarcely an exception, as she is found on the coins of Patrai.

[2] Namely, Pantaleon; who was, however, Strategos on three occasions,—186/5; 180/79 (?); 173/2 B. C. Cf. the inscription from Mókista, on p. 207.

[3] Hence Philip V, who in 219 B. C. passed by Pleuron in order to ravage the Kalydonia, struck more truly home than did Demetrios in 235 B. C. Was the title Αἰτωλικός given to Demetrios only in mockery by those who recognized the futility of his Aetolian exploit? We see from the considerations above suggested that the gift of Pleuron to the Achaians is only another instance of Roman astuteness.

[4] Paus. vii. 11. 3: Ἀφίκοντο δὲ ὡς τὸν Γάλλον καὶ Αἰτωλῶν οἱ Πλευρῶνα οἰκοῦντες, συντελείας τῆς ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐθέλοντες ἄφεσιν εὕρασθαι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπετράπη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλλου πρεσβείαν ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἀποστεῖλαι, ἐπετράπη δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἀποστῆναι.

[5] But Pleuron had the honour of giving birth to the only Aetolian poet known to us,—Alexander, son of Satyros and Stratokleia. His name was included in the group called Ἡ Πλειάς. About 285 B. C., in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos, he was in the Library at Alexandreia.

of the plain from the slopes of the Zygós upon which we stand. The nearer hill is called Gyphtókastron, the 'Fortress of the Gipsies'; the lower one beyond it is Petrovúni, 'Peter's Hill'.[1] About half-way up the side of Gyphtókastron an irregular ring-wall, scarcely half a mile in circuit, encloses the entire hill. There is the greatest possible contrast between the style of this enceinte and that of New Pleuron. Thin slabs and irregular blocks with little trace of squaring are loosely piled to make a wall that might as easily be taken for the hasty and careless work of a modern peasant as for the production of a high antiquity. Here and there it assumes an appearance of greater elaboration and strength. Yet a third style seems to be traceable in certain parts of the enceinte, for conspicuous among the small stones of which it is composed are 'some very large wrought stones, the work apparently of a remote age,' as Leake observed[2]. Repairs dating from post-Hellenic times show that the kástro has often been occupied since the days of antiquity, as indeed we should infer from its modern appellation. At present the site serves chiefly as a quarry, and the stones are being steadily carted away to Mesolónghi. Consequently, the defences are nowhere more than two or three feet high; generally their course is only to be made out with difficulty over the rough ground. Within the enclosure there is nothing, save a few inexplicable remains on the top of the hill[3].

More interesting are the ruins on the smaller height, that of Petrovúni. From the north-eastern corner of Gyphtókastron a long wall runs obliquely down the slope towards the hollow between the two hills. In this depression there are traces of a large and important gate. The wall continues its course up the slope of Petrovúni, then bends and runs along its eastern face, just below the brow of the hill, until in the south it reaches ground so rugged and broken that its further extension becomes both impracticable and unnecessary: in this quarter no enemy could approach over the rocks in force sufficient to imperil the safety of the garrison. Owing

[1] *Γυφτόκαστρον. Πετροβοῦνι.* [2] N. G. iii. 539.

[3] If the temple of Athena was in the midst of Old Pleuron, these remains might belong to it; they seem to be those of a building of some size and importance.

to the damage done by the quarrying operations it has become impossible to say whether a connecting wall ran from the south-eastern corner of Gyphtókastron across the hollow in correspondence with that on the north, but it seems likely, as otherwise the connexion actually in existence would fulfil no practical purpose. The blocks in the walls of Petrovúni are generally of huge dimensions, and they have been placed in position without much attempt to improve upon the surface produced by the natural lines of cleavage. Smaller stones are used for the purpose of filling up the interstices. The most important feature is the gateway in the road between the hills, but it is too much damaged to enable its exact plan to be recovered. The opening appears to have been about eight feet wide and thirteen feet long: there are no signs of special defences near it. This simplicity is on a par with the thoroughly unscientific character of the fortifications on this hill of Petrovúni. Reliance has been placed upon the solidity and size of the wall, not, as in a later and more advanced age, upon the application of principles that made a gigantic scale of work unnecessary.

What inferences may be drawn from the appearance of the ruins themselves? It is clear that, although of different dates, the remains on the two hills belong to a single scheme of fortification. Further, the traces of very early work noticed on the larger hill suggest the suspicion that the ring-wall at present there existing marks a second chapter in the story of the town on the height of Gyphtókastron; that the course of events has been something more than a mere peaceable extension of the polis from one hill to the other. Some such hypothesis is required to account for the manifest differences of style and the visible advance in the art of fortification: the primitive simplicity and grandeur of the walls of Petrovúni were replaced on Gyphtókastron by the complications of science. Though its walls are more fragmentary than the remains that we have hitherto examined, we seem on Petrovúni to trace the dim outlines of some episode in the early history of Old Aetolia, and to stand in the presence of the most distant past of the nation.

The question of the identification of these remains is one of extreme difficulty, and it has not yet been satisfactorily handled. The close proximity of the kástro of Irene, the

obvious sequence in date in the masonry and principles of fortification on the two sites, agreeing so well with the known facts of the history of Pleuron,—such considerations suggest that we should see in the remains on Gyphtókastron and Petrovúni the relics of that earlier Pleuron which was captured by Demetrios of Macedon. Such was the opinion of Leake[1], so that our question would appear to have been answered almost before it was asked. The difficulty, however, is that this identification is apparently not in perfect accord with the indications furnished by our authorities. They seem to point to another identification, that adopted by Bazin. He maintains that the ruins are those of Olenos, one of the five Aetolian cities known to Homer[2].

The testimony of Strabo with regard to Old Pleuron is contained in three passages. In the first we read that the mountain Kourion was 'near Old Pleuron; some imagine that the people of Pleuron gained from it the name of Kouretes[3].' And we have already heard that Old Pleuron was 'situated in a fertile plain, a short distance from Kalydon[4].' We must be on our guard against unduly pressing these last words in the interests of a particular theory. This has been done by those topographers who put Old Pleuron on the alluvial plain by the sea, as for example on the site now occupied by Mesolónghi[5], or who are inclined to look for it considerably to the east of Gyphtókastron. The first position is quite out of the question, and the second exaggerates the force of Strabo's words. The Kouretes gave their own name to the mountain, rather than were called after it, but otherwise there is nothing in these two passages to militate against the identification of Old Pleuron with the ruins at the foot of the Zygós. Confusion and doubt are first introduced by the remark of the geographer concerning the course of the Euenos:—'The Euenos does not at first flow

[1] N. G. i. 118; iii. 539.

[2] Baz. *Mém.* p. 353.

[3] Str. p. 451: *Κούριον δὲ πλησίον τῆς παλαιᾶς* Πλευρῶνος, *ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς* Πλευρωνίους *Κουρῆτας ὀνομασθῆναί τινες ὑπέλαβον.* Steph. Byz. makes his usual mistake, of calling Kourion a *πόλις*. See also Strabo, p. 465: *οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Κουρίου . . . τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου τῆς* Πλευρῶνος.

[4] Str. p. 451. See p. 124.

[5] So Bazin, *Mém.* p. 354: 'Un peu au delà de Missolonghi, par exemple dans la plaine, au pied d'un des contre-forts du Zygos,' which is, however, vague enough to suit any site.

through the Kouretic territory, which is identical with that of Pleuron, but more to the east, by Chalkis and Kalydon; then it turns west, and bends towards the plains of Old Pleuron, finally making a sweep southwards to the sea[1].'

With respect to the course of the river, Strabo is indeed partially right: his mistake is that of an early geographer, who has little sense of proportion, and gives to small facts an importance which fuller knowledge denies them. Without specifying the point of the compass from which it flows, he says that the Euenos runs first east, then west, and finally south. This is, in fact, a fairly accurate description of the direction taken by the Phídharis in its lower reaches,—of which alone Strabo or his authority would have any knowledge. From the bridge of Dhemitrakákis at Vlachomándhra, where the Phídharis is crossed by the modern road leading from Naupaktos into Central Aetolia, the course of the river traces a zig-zag figure to the sea. Its direction is at first nearly south; then follows a bend westwards, with a final turn to the south along the foot of Mount Varássova. The remark that the river approached Chalkis before turning west is sufficiently true if we take Strabo to have conceived its course as being more nearly parallel to the coast-line than is actually the case; a mistake that is, in fact, not impossible even for the modern traveller as he rounds the shoulder of Varássova.

There remains the question of the situation assigned to Pleuron and Kalydon in the passage before us. If the Euenos in changing to a westerly direction came into the plains of Pleuron, then there is no alternative,—the plains of Pleuron can be none other than those of the modern Bochóri, on the west or right bank of the river; and Pleuron, consequently, must have possessed all the land upon that side between the sea and the Zygós[2]. It is true that when he goes on to speak more minutely Strabo confines himself to saying that the Euenos 'turns in the direction of the

[1] Strabo, p. 451: *ῥεῖ δ' οὐ διὰ τῆς Κουρητικῆς κατ' ἀρχάς, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ Πλευρωνίᾳ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς προσεῴας μᾶλλον παρὰ τὴν Χαλκίδα καὶ Καλυδῶνα· εἶτ' ἀνακάμψας ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Πλευρῶνος πεδία τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ παραλλάξας εἰς δύσιν ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τὰς ἐκβολὰς καὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν.*

[2] And, in spite of its inherent absurdity, this conclusion was accepted by Lolling, who says that Pleuron 'nahm die ganze Küstenebene bis zum Euenos in Anspruch.'

plains of Old Pleuron,' but he spoke before of its 'flowing through' them; and that is undoubtedly what he meant. The reference to Chalkis and Kalydon was dictated by a desire to guard against the possibility of his readers extending the Pleuronia too far towards the north-east; which, of course, they were liable to do if they were not warned that in this direction room was to be left for the territories of Chalkis and Kalydon.

The conclusion is inevitable, therefore, that Strabo assigned to Old Pleuron the plain at the foot of the Zygós on the right bank of the Phídharis where it issues from behind Mount Varássova. If so, it is no less inevitable that he here identified Old Pleuron with the ruins existing at that point, those which are undoubtedly to be attributed to Kalydon. Forced into error by the effort to reconcile conflicting authorities, Strabo has made his geography of Southern Aetolia a chaos. Once having spoken of the Euenos as flowing through the Pleuronia, he was compelled to identify the kástro of Kurtagá with Old Pleuron, and to put Kalydon upon the left bank of the river. The truth is that it flowed through the Kalydonian plain, and had no connexion whatever with either New or Old Pleuron: and Strabo knows this well enough in other passages.

This third passage of Strabo has, therefore, turned out to have no claim to rank as evidence on the question as to the true situation of the earlier city of Pleuron. And the two statements previously cited[1], although true, are of little positive value, seeing that nothing remains to enable us to identify Mount Kourion, or to fix the distance of the old town of Pleuron from Kalydon. If, however, the ruins at Gyphtókastron and Petrovúni are assigned to Old Pleuron in accordance with the suggestion of probability eked out with those two vague passages, then a new difficulty must be faced, in the claim put forward on behalf of the Homeric Olenos to be located upon the same site.

Olenos also is thrice mentioned by Strabo. He says: 'The Aioleis destroyed Olenos, which was near New Pleuron, and the Akarnanians disputed its territory with them[2].'

[1] On p. 130.

[2] Str. p. 451: *τὴν μὲν Ὦλενον . . . Αἰολεῖς κατέσκαψαν, πλησίον οὖσαν τῆς νεωτέρας Πλευρῶνος, τῆς δὲ χώρας ἠμφισβήτουν Ἀκαρνᾶνες.*

Farther on he adds: 'In the interior of Aetolia . . . was Olenos, which is mentioned by Homer in his list of Aetolian cities; there remain only vestiges of it near Pleuron, at the foot of Arakynthos[1].' His third passage is simply a repetition of part of this[2].

Leake's view[3], that Olenos should be sought on the borders of Lake Trichonis,—that it was, in fact, upon the site afterwards occupied by Trichonion,—is due to his insisting upon the expression 'in the interior.' It has already been noticed[4] that the cities of Homeric Aetolia lie all apparently within the same zone,—the maritime plain on the southern side of the Zygós. There is nothing to lead us to make Olenos an exception, nor is there any evidence that Trichonion was built upon a site that had previously been occupied[5], or that it was included within what Leake calls 'the dominions of the Kalydonian dynasty.' This last expression seems to have been suggested by the idea that the kingdom of Kalydon was co-extensive with Aetolia Ἀρχαία, than which there can be no greater misconception of the early history of the country. 'In the interior' must only be taken to imply a situation not actually on the coast[6]. The fact that the Aioleis, into whose hands Olenos fell, were involved in border wars with the Akarnanians points to a site very near the Acheloos.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above-quoted passages admits of no doubt. If Strabo has not gone entirely astray in the data he gives, the claim of Olenos to be identified with the remains below the kástro of Kyría Eiríni must

[1] Str. p. 460: Τῆς δὲ μεσογαίας . . . κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἦν Ὤλενος, . . . ἴχνη δ' αὐτῆς λείπεται μόνον ἐγγὺς τῆς Πλευρῶνος ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀρακύνθῳ. As Olenos was near *New* Pleuron, which was on the heights, it follows that the words ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀρακύνθῳ must refer to Olenos itself.

[2] *Id.* p. 386: τὸ ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ κτίσμα καὶ αὐτὸ ἴχνη σῴζον μόνον.

[3] N. G. i. 155. [4] See p. 55.

[5] Its fortifications are too much ruined to enable us to speak decidedly, but the town certainly seems to have belonged to the most ancient group. If it were proved that the site had previously been occupied, it would be preferable to give it the name Hydra. See p. 227, *note* 3.

[6] Just as Pliny (*H. N.* iv. 3), speaking of Pleuron, without doubt the later city at Kyra-Eiríni, says that it is 'in the interior':—et in mediterraneo Plevron Halicyrna. The occurrence of this last name enables us to attach its true value to the phrase.

be held to be established[1]. Yet, if Olenos also must be placed at Gyphtókastron and Petrovúni, what becomes of the old town of Pleuron? We have reached the following position; we have a single site, which we have successively identified with Old Pleuron and with Olenos. And both identifications are sound. What is the explanation of the paradox? It amounts simply to this: that the Olenos known to Strabo was not the Olenos of Homer and early Aetolian history. Strabo and his informants were the victims of a topographical fraud.

Olenos, it must be remembered, had been destroyed centuries before Strabo wrote. In the chiaroscuro of the epoch of the migrations it is swallowed up by the flood of invading Aioleis. Further, the site of Old Pleuron also had been deserted two hundred years before the time of the geographer; and if we may judge from the vagueness of his language with regard to Old Pleuron, as contrasted with his distinct and minute assertions respecting Olenos, the former town had vanished from the face of the earth. Yet Hellanikos, in the middle of the fifth century before our era, speaks of Olenos, together with Pylene, as being still in existence. It will require something more than Strabo's criticism to convince us that Hellanikos was in error[2]. We must accept it as a fact, that during the fifth century the name of Olenos was once more found upon the map of Aetolia. It cannot, however, have attached to the site at the

[1] This result seems to suffer shipwreck upon the statement of Strabo (p. 460), that Lysimacheia was near Olenos (*ἦν δὲ καὶ Λυσιμάχεια πλησίον*). Lysimacheia being certainly on the northern side of the Zygós, in Central Aetolia, no possible geography can bring Lysimacheia and Olenos into juxtaposition. It would seem, then, that we are reduced to a choice between mutually exclusive alternatives. Either Olenos was close to Pleuron (Str. pp. 451, 460), or that connexion must be given up and we must look for Olenos on the shores of Lake Trichonis in the neighbourhood of Lysimacheia, as Leake imagined. But a solution of the difficulty is not impossible. Lysimacheia is also brought into connexion with Pleuron (Str. p. 460: *μεταξὺ Πλευρῶνος καὶ Ἀρσινόης πόλεως*). It thus becomes easier to understand how Olenos and Lysimacheia should have been mentioned together, seeing that Pleuron also, the near neighbour of Olenos, stood in some geographical relation to the same town. See p. 223.

[2] Cf. Strabo, p. 451: *Ἑλλάνικος δ' οὐδὲ τὴν περὶ ταύτας ἱστορίαν οἶδεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτι καὶ αὐτῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ καταστάσει μέμνηται.*

foot of the Zygós, for that bore the name of Pleuron until after 235 B. C. Nevertheless, that site has been proved to be undoubtedly the one which to Strabo was associated with the name of Olenos.

The answer to the riddle is that, after the inroad made by Demetrios (235 B. C.), there had taken place a transference of the name Olenos to the site which had been that of Old Pleuron. National pride aided the transference, for what Aetolian would care to remember the shame brought upon the fair name of Pleuron by the Macedonian king? The deserted and dismantled walls of Old Pleuron, therefore, in course of time came to be regarded as those of Olenos. For a season, probably, a restored polis flourished under that name at the foot of the Zygós; but, owing to the proximity of the new and larger city of New Pleuron, decay came upon the town in the plain[1], so that by the time of Strabo it lay again in ruins. With partial truth these ruins were pointed out to Strabo, or his authority, as those of Olenos, but were falsely imagined by him to be those of the Homeric city sacked by the Aioleis and fought for by the Akarnanians.

Then how came it that the name Olenos should have been wandering thus disembodied, seeing that in the days of Hellanikos it was in no such predicament? I imagine that the genuine Homeric Olenos, upon its restoration after the Aiolic invasion, had been given a new name[2], possibly by the Akarnanians, if they were for a time successful in maintaining their claim to its territory. The facts that this restored and re-named polis had once been a member of the Heroic quintet of Aetolian cities, and that it was originally called Olenos, became a piece of antiquarian lore, not of common knowledge; just as was the fact that the later Olenos, of which Strabo heard, had usurped the site of Old Pleuron.

[1] Cf. Seneca, *Troad.* 826: Olenos tectis habitata raris.

[2] Of Ithoria. See p. 158. In the time of Hellanikos we must suppose its old Homeric name to have been still remembered. If, as we have surmised, the name Ithoria was of Akarnanian origin, it would win its way in popular usage during the long contact of the Akarnanians with the Paracheloïtis, a contact which was not dissolved until 314 B. C. We may imagine the name Ithoria to have become established by that date in place of Olenos, so that the latter name was free to attach to the site of Old Pleuron when it became vacant a century later.

This hypothesis alone enables us to escape from the labyrinth, and to set the topography of this part of Aetolia upon a firm basis[1]. It is an hypothesis which agrees perfectly with the history, so far as it can be followed; and it is by the light of this identification alone that our observations on the differences pointed out in the style of the remains receive their complete significance. The surmise then expressed, that in the ruins of Gyphtókastron and Petrovúni we have evidence of two distinct settlements, proves to be justified. The earlier work belongs to the Homeric Pleuron, the later to the restored town that bore the name of Olenos. To what site, then, did the name of Olenos originally and properly belong? For the answer to that question we must wait until we come to deal with the towns of the Parachelōïtis[2].

[1] On the other hand Bursian apparently finds the problem insoluble; for he does not attempt to locate Olenos (cf. *Geogr.* i. 131). Bazin is scarcely more satisfactory, as he is compelled frankly to place Old Pleuron where there is no trace of an ancient city (cf. *Mém.* p. 354).

[2] See p. 157.

CHAPTER XI.

Sites on the Zygos.

The name of Pylene completes the Homeric quintet of Aetolian cities. Its place in the *Catalogue* is significant of the close historical association of the town with Pleuron and Olenos[1]. In fact, the Homeric enumeration is true both to geography and to history in distinguishing two groups in the five cities constituting Ancient Aetolia. Chalkis and Kalydon are clearly separated from the western triad of Pleuron, Olenos, and Pylene. Like Olenos, Pylene fell before the invading Aioleis, who re-established the town in a more lofty situation, and gave it the name of Proschion[2].

The name Pylene itself contains for the topographer a welcome addition to the scanty indications upon which the identification must be based. We are led by it at once to think of that remarkable fissure which, in ancient as in modern times, must have formed the principal one of the three routes leading from the maritime plain into Central Aetolia. The Kleisúra is exactly such a feature as was called Πύλαι by the Greeks, and we are almost bound to see in Pylene the town 'at the Gates.'

Leake, arguing from its name, placed the town conjecturally 'at the maritime end of the Klisúra, over against Anatolikó'; and Bazin's discovery of its ruins proved the sagacity of the great topographer[3]. For there is little doubt

[1] Hom. *Il.* ii. 639. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* iv. 102:—

scopulosa Pylene,
fletaque cognatis avibus Meleagrica Pleuron.

[2] Strabo, p. 451: *τὴν δὲ Πυλήνην μετενέγκαντες εἰς τοὺς ἀνώτερον τόπους ἤλλαξαν αὐτῆς καὶ τοὔνομα Πρόσχιον καλέσαντες.* Cf. *id.* p. 460.

[3] N. G. i. 119. *Mém.* p. 345.

that the scanty fragments visible at the foot of the Zygós, on the road from Mesolónghi to Anatolikó, must be identified as those of Pylene. The site bears the name of 'the Kástro of the Three Churches[1],' from the later remains lying close at hand. These probably account for the almost complete disappearance of the ancient fortifications, which now consist only of a short length of wall with traces of two square towers. The style of the masonry does not indeed indicate a very early date: if the site is correctly identified as that of Pylene, this is accounted for by the fact, known from Hellanikos, that both Pylene and Olenos were restored after their destruction by the Aioleis. Strabo, it is true, regards this statement on the part of Hellanikos as an error[2], but without justification for so doing; nor is there any difficulty in accounting for the ruin that in Strabo's day had for the second time overtaken the two towns. The position occupied by Pylene, though not of any great military strength, is important, as it lies upon the road leading southwards between the Zygós and the lagoons into the territories of Pleuron and Kalydon. It is also just below the junction of the two routes coming from Central Aetolia, namely that of the Kleisúra and that more westerly road which passes by Anghelókastron.

PROSCHION.

Doubt is scarcely possible with regard to the situation of Proschion, the town that took the place of Pylene. The change of site must have been dictated by military considerations, for Pylene lay too low and too near the plain to command the road in a really effective manner. Seeing that hostilities were chiefly to be expected from the side of Akarnania, the new occupants of this district seem to have cast about for a position that would serve the double object,—of overlooking the country along the banks of the Acheloos, and of closing the route into Southern Aetolia in case the Akarnanians attempted to turn their flank from the region on the north of the Zygós. There is but one site that fulfils both these requirements; namely, the lofty position on the

[1] Τὸ κάστρο τῶν Τριῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν.

[2] Strabo, p. 451: Ἑλλάνικος δ' οὐδὲ τὴν περὶ ταύτας ἱστορίαν οἶδεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτι καὶ αὐτῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ καταστάσει μέμνηται, . . . πλείστην εὐχέρειαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἐν πάσῃ σχεδόν τι τῇ γραφῇ.

western face of the Zygós where are found insignificant remains, called the Kástro of Saint George, from a neighbouring monastery now deserted [1].

Subsequent history justified the choice of the Aioleis; for, though only once mentioned, Proschion seems to have had some military importance. We hear of the place from Thucydides when he is describing the operations of Eurylochos, the Spartan general who was sent into Western Greece in 426 B. C. to take reprisals for the abortive attempt of Demosthenes on the Aetolian Federation. Retreating discomfited from Naupaktos, 'Eurylochos and his forces . . . instead of going back to the Peloponnese, retired into the country of Aiolis, which is now called by the names of Kalydon and Pleuron, and to other places in this neighbourhood; also to Proschion of Aetolia [2].' Here he waited until his allies, the Ambrakiots, opened their campaign against Amphilochia, and then 'he moved from Proschion, and crossed the Acheloos to join them [3].'

Several interesting results are gained from this passage. It tends to confirm the identification of the ruins at St. George as those of Proschion. No other site, lying outside the limits of the territory occupied by Kalydon and Pleuron, i. e. the maritime plain, so admirably combines the advantages of serving as a post from which the Peloponnesians might keep an eye upon events in the west, and of enabling them to command the passage of the Acheloos,—both without danger to themselves. A second important item of information is the fact, clearly implied, that the conquests made by the Aioleis did not extend beyond comparatively narrow limits, even within the region of Southern Aetolia. Aiolis, to Thucydides, is identical with the Kalydonia and the Pleuronia, and does not include the plain stretching northwards along the eastern shore of the lagoon of Aetolikó. Accordingly, although Proschion is represented

[1] Cf. Bazin, *Mém.* p. 344. Leake, N. G. i. 119, though he did not visit the ruins, suggested the identification.

[2] Thuc. iii. 102: *ἀνεχώρησαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Καλυδῶνα καὶ Πλευρῶνα καὶ ἐς τὰ ταύτῃ χωρία καὶ ἐς Πρόσχιον τῆς Αἰτωλίας.*

[3] *Id.* iii. 106: *ἅπαντες ἐκ τοῦ Προσχίου ἐβοήθουν κατὰ τάχος, καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ἀχελῷον ἐχώρουν δι' Ἀκαρνανίας.*

by Strabo as an Aiolic foundation, it is spoken of by Thucydides as 'Proschion of Aetolia,' in obvious distinction from the neighbouring Aiolis.

We may prefer to believe that the foundation of the town was not so entirely a work of the Aioleis as, upon Strabo's authority, we have hitherto imagined. It may rather have owed its existence to the refugees of Pylene and Olenos. There is, however, another possible alternative. In the first place, we must call attention to the fact that there is evidence of the existence of Proschion during an epoch prior to the Aiolic conquest. We are told by Nikander that Herakles there consecrated a *temenos* to Kyathos his cupbearer, whom he had unintentionally slain [1]. The site was inhabited long before its military importance was recognized; whether Proschion was its original name or not we cannot say.

How then reconcile the two statements,—that Aiolis did not include Proschion, and that the Aioleis were nevertheless the creators of Proschion as a military post?

The pressure of warfare with the Akarnanians is the key to the mystery. Although the Akarnanians ultimately lost ground before the steady growth of the Aetolian League, we have evidence sufficient to prove that during the earlier period of their history the balance of success had not always remained with the Aetolians [2]. The warfare carried on in the neighbourhood of Olenos was sufficiently keen and protracted to secure a permanent place in tradition, and we seem to trace the effect of these continual struggles in that unity which, in spite of the diversity of its elements, characterizes the Aetolian nation from the first moment of its appearance in history. The ceaseless hostility of Akarnania,—all the more fierce for the temporary weakness of Aetolia during the Aiolic inroad,—compelled the coalition of the Aetolians with the Aiolic interlopers [3] and the adoption of

[1] Ath. ix. 411 a: *καὶ Κύαθον δὲ τὸν Πύλητος μὲν υἱόν, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀντιμάχου ἀπέκτεινεν ἄκων Ἡρακλῆς οἰνοχοοῦντα αὐτῷ, ὡς Νίκανδρος ἱστορεῖ ἐν δευτέρῳ Οἰταϊκῶν, ᾧ καὶ ἀνεῖσθαί φησι τέμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐν Προσχίῳ, ὃ μέχρι νῦν προσαγορεύεσθαι Οἰνοχόου.* The legend was localized also in the Peloponnese; cf. Paus. ii. 13. 8.

[2] See pp. 152, 172.

[3] This is not the place in which to discuss the early history of Aetolia; we must be content to accept the account of Ephoros, without

decisive combined action. The words of Ephoros, quoted by Strabo, that the Aioleis and the Aetolians 'possessed the land in common[1],' point to this conclusion. The expression of this policy is to be seen in the foundation of Proschion,—meaning by 'foundation' not a new creation, but the discovery of the great military advantages possessed by the site. Clearly, however, the name Aiolis, which kept alive the memory of Aiolic conquest, had no claim to embrace Proschion on the same footing as Kalydon, Pleuron, and Olenos; and we see from Thucydides that Proschion was distinctly recognized as belonging to the genuine unconquered[2] Aetolia.

PHANA.

If we follow the Railway from Stamná for about two miles in the direction of Aetolikó, we reach a group of low hills occupying the space between the slopes of the Zygós and the eastern shore of the Aetolikó lagoon. Here are the ruins to which the peasants give the once appropriate name of the 'Iron Gate[3].' Unfortunately the Railway in its course through the site has caused the destruction of the remains. Almost every block has been uprooted along each face of the wall, so that only the core of smaller stones and rubbish is left to mark the line of the enceinte. At one point, however, a short length of wall and part of a tower have escaped destruction, so that an idea can be gained of the nature of the defences.

The site consists of four round hills, of which the largest lies to the north, and connects with the main heights of the Zygós. South of this comes a second but somewhat smaller height, joined to the first by a saddle. Still farther to the south a rocky eminence, the smallest of the four, rises directly from the lagoon. The fourth hill lies towards the south-east, being intermediate between the second and third in both height and position. On the saddle between the first and second hills there are clear traces of the wall, which in this part of its course had a breadth of at least ten feet.

attempting to define the periods into which early Aetolian history fell, or the tribal affinities of the peoples which played a part in it.

[1] Str. p. 464: *κοινῇ . . . τὴν χώραν κατασχεῖν.*

[2] Cf. Str. p. 463.

[3] *Σιδηρύπορτα, Σιδηρένια πόρτα,* or *Σ. πύλη.*

From the saddle we can follow the line in both directions,—up the face of the northern height, or along the side of the second hill, i. e. towards the Railway and the lagoon. Thus, of the whole circuit, only one side is now actually visible, namely that facing the lagoon. If all four hills were included within the fortifications, the circumference of the city must have measured somewhat less than a mile. We cannot say much about the towers. Bazin, who saw the site before its destruction, gives the interval between them as about one hundred and twenty feet, and puts their diameter,—they were all semicircular,—at about twenty-five and a half feet[1]. The section exposed near the Railway embankment is important, as it proves on examination to have belonged to one of the gateways, perhaps the principal entrance of the city. A tiny fragment of a round tower springing from the front shows that the plan of the gate was that of a long passage guarded by semicircular projections. So far as can be judged from the remains now visible, the masonry was of a good and careful kind. Bazin also describes it as 'irregular Hellenic.'

Can we identify this important city? Important it must have been, as it is placed exactly at the point at which the road into Southern Aetolia along the west of the Zygós, by way of Anghelókastron, debouches into the plain of Anatolikón. It also commands the lower end of the Kleisúra, which is situated at a short distance to the east of the site. In addition to its strategic importance, Sidheróporta is architecturally unique, for no other example of the exclusive employment of the semicircular tower in defence is found in Aetolia; even its partial use is confined to a very short list of sites, so that the number and character of the towers here are facts of considerable value.

No more satisfactory identification can be suggested than that put forward by Bazin. He gives the site the name of Phana. We get the name and story of the town from Pausanias, in his account of Delphi[2]. 'The Achaians dedicated a statue of Athena because they reduced by siege one of the cities in Aetolia. Phana was the name of the city. The story is that the siege lasted no little time, and as it seemed

[1] *Mém.* p. 343.

[2] Paus. x. 18. 1. In Steph. Byz. ἔστι καὶ Φάνα ἐνικῶς πόλις Ἰταλίας, we should probably read Αἰτωλίας.

impossible to take the city they sent representatives to Delphi, and there came to them this prophecy:—"O ye that dwell in the land of Pelops and Achaia, who to Pytho have come to inquire how ye may take the place! Come then, consider what dole of water day by day, as the people and the city drink, preserves it; for so would ye take the tower-girt town of Phana[1]." Now, not understanding what the oracle meant, the Achaians were on the point of raising the siege and sailing off home[2]. Those within the fortress all held them of no account, and a woman came out from it to draw water from the spring below the wall[3]. The Achaians ran upon her, and took her prisoner: they learnt from her that the people doled out the scanty supply of water from the spring each night that they got it, and that the garrison had no other provision against thirst. So then the Achaians fouled the spring, and took the place.'

The Achaians, once established in the maritime plain, would naturally turn covetous eyes upon a position like that of Sidheróporta. With it in their hands they could feel comparatively secure against attack from the centre of Aetolia. The remark that the baffled besiegers were on the point of taking to their ships is one of peculiar appropriateness, if we imagine this city by the shores of the lagoon to have been the scene of the contest[4]. The reference on the part of the oracle to the towers of Phana is also not a mere commonplace, but was inspired by the conspicuous feature in the actual appearance of the town. Lastly, we notice the spring of fresh water that rises at the base of the smallest of the four hills, on the very margin of the lagoon. We cannot find in Aetolia a site that answers better to the picture drawn by Pausanias than does this of Sidheróporta.

What was the date of the siege and capture of Phana? It can have occurred only at the beginning or at the end of the history of Aetolia as a great power in Greece. In favour

[1] Paus. *l. c.* Φάναν πυργήρεα κώμην. [2] *Ibid.*: οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν.

[3] *Ibid.*: ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει πίδακος.

[4] The fleet would primarily be that which brought reinforcements from the Peloponnese. Note the valuable minuteness of detail that characterizes all the statements of Pausanias with regard to Aetolia. He was able to extract from an Αἰτωλικά of which we would that more had been preserved.

of the former date we may point to the fact that, according to Xenophon, the Achaians maintained garrisons both in Naupaktos and in Kalydon after the Peloponnesian War. It was not until 367 B.C. that, through the medium of Epameinondas, the Aetolians recovered those cities[1]. Naupaktos, however, seems again to have been lost, as it required the special intervention of Philip of Macedon finally to assure the Aetolians of its possession[2]. We may feel certain that these vicissitudes in ownership in Southern Aetolia were not without bloodshed.

The alternative date is the period subsequent to 189 B.C., when Rome put the Achaians into possession of Herakleia and Pleuron[3]. As her object was to humble Aetolia, it is not likely that any precautions were taken to check the spread of Achaian power among the Aetolian cities. There is nothing in the story, as told by Pausanias, to suggest the one date rather than the other. From a consideration of the technical evidence found upon the site, we are inclined to adopt the later of the two. When we have examined Elaos we shall find an additional argument in favour of the lower date.

ELAOS.

Only one more site remains to be described in this region. It is that called Hághios Elías. This kástro is on the Zygós itself, near the path crossing the mountain from New Pleuron. North-east of Kyra-Eiríni, and south of Kerásovon, there is a ruined chapel of Hághios Elías, near which we discover traces of old foundations, and a piece of wall four or five courses high, in a style almost regular.

Bazin proposes to identify this site as that of Elaos[4], a fort mentioned only by Polybios. Polybios is describing the

[1] Xen. *Hell.* iv. 6. 1: οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔχοντες Καλυδῶνα, ἣ τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰτωλίας ἦν, κ.τ.λ. *Id.* iv. 6. 14: ἤλπιζον γὰρ (οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ) Ναύπακτον αὐτοῖς συμπράξειν ὥστ' ἀπολαβεῖν. This was in 391 B.C. We read in Diodorus (xv. 75) that Epameinondas, in 367 B.C., Δύμην καὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ Καλυδῶνα φρουρουμένην ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν ἠλευθέρωσεν.

[2] Strabo, p. 427: ἔστι δὲ νῦν Αἰτωλῶν Φιλίππου προσκρίναντος. Cf. Demosth. *Phil.* iii. 44: Οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὀμώμοκεν (ὁ Φίλιππος) Αἰτωλοῖς παραδώσειν; This was in 341 B.C.

[3] See Paus. vii. 11. 3; 14. 1.

[4] *Mém.* p. 354. There is, of course, no connexion between the ancient and modern names, Elaos and Elías.

campaign of the Macedonian Philip in Lower Aetolia in the year 219 B.C.[1] After a victorious march down the left bank of the Acheloos Philip entered Oiniadai, situated on the Akarnanian side of the river, but at that time belonging to the Aetolian League. Then, crossing the Acheloos once more, 'he encamped on a certain secure position in the Kalydonia, called Elaos, which had been rendered extraordinarily strong with walls and other fortifications by Attalos, who undertook the work for the Aetolians. Having carried this also by assault, and plundered the whole of the Kalydonia, the Macedonians returned to Oiniadai[2].'

Unfortunately there is no hint furnished as to the route followed by the army in this expedition from Oiniadai, a fact not without significance when we consider how full and valuable is the information given about the previous operations of the campaign. We imagine that this sudden vagueness arises from the absence of landmarks standing in a well-defined relation to the line of march; a not uncommon difficulty in the way of an attempt to trace the route taken in passing through an unfamiliar country. Unless the road lies in more or less obvious relation to striking features or to known points, its description is at best vague, and sometimes impossible. This is exactly the case here. Philip evidently did not take the most direct and obvious route into the territory of Kalydon. Unless we imagine the term Kalydonia to be used loosely in this passage and to include the whole of the maritime plain, we are compelled to infer that for some reason the Macedonians avoided the Pleuronia, which lay directly between the Acheloos and the land of Kalydon. It is, perhaps, not impossible to guess the reason for this détour when we remember the flying march on Thermon undertaken by this same Philip in the following year, and his equally sudden and hazardous expedition into Lakonia before any one knew that he was safely out of the defiles of

[1] See p. 153.

[2] Pol. iv. 65: *κατεστρατοπέδευσε τῆς Καλυδωνίας πρός τι χωρίον ὀχυρόν, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ἔλαος ἠσφάλισται δὲ τείχεσι καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς παρασκευαῖς διαφερόντως, Ἀττάλου τὴν περὶ αὐτὸ κατασκευὴν ἀναδεξαμένου τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς. γενόμενοι δὲ καὶ τούτου κύριοι κατὰ κράτος οἱ Μακεδόνες, καὶ πᾶσαν κατασύραντες τὴν Καλυδωνίαν, ἦκον πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Οἰνιάδας.*

Lake Trichonis[1]. It was a characteristic feature in the campaigns of Philip to appear at unexpected and vital points, baffling all attempts at resistance by the very rashness with which he ventured among his enemies and by the celerity with which he extricated himself almost before they were aware of his presence. Thus to neglect Pleuron, which all Aetolia would expect to fall next before him, and by a circuitous and dangerous route to descend into the more distant, but far more important, territory of Kalydon, is in harmony with all that we know of Philip's methods at this period. It may, indeed, have been the success of this raid, and the insight it gave him into the geography of Southern Aetolia, that emboldened the king to make the still more daring expedition to the capital.

These considerations seem to establish the identification suggested by Bazin. If we feel that we can press the words of Polybios, we shall note the appropriateness of his expression ὀχυρὸν χωρίον, which corresponds perfectly to the character of the remains at Hághios Elías. They are those of a mountain fortress rather than a town, a fortress designed solely for the protection of the route over the Zygós. This route is the complement of that by the Kleisúra. However superior the latter road in the ease with which it allows communication between the two plains, it suffers under the disadvantage of lying too near the frontier, and in such relation to it as to admit of being turned without difficulty. Yet the strategic value of the Kleisúra is great, owing to the sharp severance of the lower from the upper plain. Of the alternative routes, that which turns the eastern end of the Zygós does not connect Central Aetolia with the Kalydonia, but with the Naupaktia, by a road passing between Mounts Klókova and Rhígani. The other route lies between the Kleisúra and the Acheloos, comprising both the Στενά, or path along the river, and the line taken by the modern highway through the foot-hills of the Lower Zygós[2]. Strong fortresses had, therefore, to be maintained at each end of the Kleisúra by the Aetolians. The only way in which its importance, for

[1] Pol. v. 7 fol., 18 fol. Cf. *id.* iv. 67.

[2] The path by the river (the Στενά), the modern highway, together with the Railway, all emerge upon the central plain at Anghelókastron (Konope-Arsinoe).

an invader, could be neutralised, was by the establishment of a road over the Zygós itself, in order to keep open the communications between the coast and the interior in case the Kleisúra were lost. The fortress at Hághios Elías commanded this companion road; consequently, its capture was essential to the success of Philip's descent into the territory of Kalydon.

The hypothesis of Kruse, that Elaos should be located on the site now occupied by Mesolónghi, is based upon a false etymology [1]. Becker accepts his suggestion as to the site, but proposes another derivation for the name [2]. Both these topographers assume that Philip advanced in a direct line across the lower lagoons into the maritime plain, but they attempt no explanation of the historian's failure to mention Pleuron. It is suggested only that Elaos had been strengthened by the influx of refugees from Old Pleuron upon its destruction by Demetrios, or that, in fact, it owed its first settlement to that disaster [3]. Yet, at the time of Philip's inroad, a period of sixteen or twenty years had elapsed since the capture of Old Pleuron [4], years of prosperity and aggrandisement. If New Pleuron had not arisen by 219 B. C., it is hard to see either why or when that city was built. The fact that King Attalos paid for the strengthening of Elaos has been used to support the identification with Mesolónghi: on the ground that unless the fort lay on the coast he could not have conveyed his materials to it!

What was the date of this connexion between Attalos and the Aetolians? It must be posterior to 241 B. C., the date of the king's accession [5]. Between 241 and 226 B. C. occurred his victory over the Galatai, followed by his conquest of all Asia Minor within the Tauros. Then came a period of depression, during which he was gradually reduced by Achaios until he was confined to the district immediately round Pergamos. In 220 B. C. Attalos was so weak that he

[1] *Hellas*, II. ii. 262: 'Eläos lag also zwischen Oeniadä und Calydon. Der Name bezeichnet einen in Sümpfen liegenden Ort.' From ἕλος, 'marsh.'

[2] *Diss.* ii. 28: 'Antiquum oppidum ab olivis, quae in eius (Mesolongii) agro laetissime proveniunt, nomen traxisse mihi videtur;' and *note* 127.

[3] Becker, *Diss.* ii. 28, *note* 125; 30, *note* 139.

[4] See p. 124.

[5] Droysen, *Gesch. der Epig.* ii. 9 fol.

could render no effective aid to the Byzantines in their war with the Rhodians[1]. Now, already in 219 B.C., Elaos is found in a thoroughly efficient state of repair. The work must, therefore, have been accomplished before 226 B.C.; Attalos was too busily occupied at home during the following six years to have done anything for the Aetolians. The victory over the Galatai was probably the occasion that led to the connexion; the two champions of Hellenism would meet on common ground. We can gain some idea of the manner of it by comparing the inscriptions that contain the decrees of the Athenians and the Chians, recognizing the Soteria established by the Aetolians after their repulse of the invaders[2], with the decree of the Aetolians themselves, recognizing the Nikephoria established by Eumenes II, the son and successor of Attalos[3]. The great victory of Attalos over the barbarians is put by Droysen[4] to 239–236 B.C. The construction of Elaos must, therefore, be assigned to the period of sixteen or twenty years immediately preceding the outbreak of the so-called Social War in 219 B.C.

To the same epoch we should also attribute the building of Phana. Both Phana and Elaos are on important lines of communication, and are part of the same scheme for strengthening Lower Aetolia. Phana bears on its face the evidence of its comparatively late date; and yet the stormy history of the League after 211 B.C. compels us to put the foundation of the town earlier than that year, and thus renders easier its connexion with Elaos. The interval between 217 and 211 B.C. coincides with the temporary adoption of the peace policy of Agelaos of Naupaktos[5]; the only other period of quietude comes between 206 and 200 B.C., but that was a time of complete exhaustion and financial embarrassment[6]. I imagine that Philip's expedition of 219 B.C. into the Kalydonia was the direct cause of the foundation of Phana. The king's unimpeded march in the

[1] Pol. iv. 48.

[2] Hauss. *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* v. 300; Ditten. *Syll.* 149, 150.

[3] Fick (*Sammlung-Collitz*), 1413; Cauer, *Del.*[2] 236; Ditt. *Syll.* 215; Hauss. *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* v. 372.

[4] *Gesch. der Epig.* ii. 12, *note* 1.

[5] Cf. Pol. v. 107.

[6] *Id.* xiii. 1.

rear of Pleuron, past the ruins of Pylene and the then obsolete [1] fortress of Proschion, had conclusively proved the need for powerful defences in that region, and the position of Sidheróporta was chosen as meeting in a unique manner all the military requirements of the case. It follows, then, that the successful expedition of the Achaians against Phana must be placed after 189 B. C.[2]

[1] Obsolete, because long before 219 B. C. all fear of an Akarnanian invasion of Aetolia was at an end. But the *raison d'être* of Proschion lay in that fear (p. 140 fol.).

[2] See p. 144.

CHAPTER XII.

The Paracheloïtis.

Some confusion has gathered round the strip of plain that in ancient times bore the name Paracheloïtis. The word has been applied by some writers to the valley of the upper Acheloos, the district now known as the Aspropótamo[1]. Or, again, we are told that the Paracheloïtis was the maritime plain between the Acheloos and the Euenos, south of Mount Arakynthos[2]. The words of Strabo, however, are quite clear. He gives the name to the land formed at the mouth of the Acheloos by the partial joining of the Echinades to the continent[3]. It was the subject of bloody disputes between the Aetolians and the Akarnanians, owing to the uncertainty of the boundaries. The Aetolian Paracheloïtis was without doubt the plain on each side of the river[4], from its mouth upwards as far as the point at which the Zygós comes quite down to its banks on the one side and the Akarnanian hills round Palaiománina on the other.

[1] As, apparently, by Pouqueville, once at least (*Voy.* iii. 479), following Livy xxxix. 26: et Paracheloida, quae sub Athanania esset, nullo jure Thessalorum formulae factam. But from a comparison of Strabo, pp. 427, 434, with Steph. Byz. *in voc.* Παραχελωῖται, we may perhaps conclude that Livy was there referring to the Paracheloitai near Lamia. Leake, however, takes it of the upper Acheloos (N. G. iv. 212).

[2] See *Dict. of Geography.*

[3] Str. p. 458, speaking of the Acheloos and the Echinades: *ἀλλ' ἡ χοῦς τὰς μὲν ἐξηπείρωκεν ἤδη, τὰς δὲ μέλλει πολλὴ καταφερομένη· ἥπερ καὶ τὴν Παραχελωῖτιν καλουμένην χώραν, ἣν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπικλύζει, περιμάχητον ἐποίει τὸ παλαιὸν τοὺς ὅρους συγχέουσα ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀποδεικνυμένους τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσι καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς.* See also *id.* p. 459.

[4] Cf. Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe.* p. 423. The district on the Akarnanian side of the river is now called Τὸ Κατώμερος (the Low Country).

As the Paracheloïtis is represented as having been the scene of constant warfare, caused by the real or imagined fluctuations in the course of the river, it is not likely that the term should be extended so as to include the plain of Stratos, for the course of the Acheloos through the central Aetolian basin is not liable to variation. The river issues from the gorge in the hills hard by Stratos in the north, and flows in a well-defined broad bed towards the most westerly of the only two possible exits through the mountains to the south. The only alternative to its present course is the opening of the Kleisúra into the head of the Aetolikó lagoon. Pouqueville, indeed, speaks of traces of an old bed below Stamná; he seems to mean the passage at the foot of Mount Katsá through the hills that bound the western side of the lagoon[1]. The configuration of the country is such as to make it impossible to regard that opening as having constituted anything more than a lateral channel between the early mainland and the island once formed by Katsá and its companion hills to the southward. The changes that led to feud are thus possible only after the river has issued upon the maritime plain, and it is to this part that we must confine the name Paracheloïtis. Even within historical times the course of the river in its lower reaches has suffered considerable modification, and it once entered the sea much nearer Mesolónghi than is now the case[2].

In a district like the Paracheloïtis,—of a fertility that made its possession an object of keen conflict, but liable at any moment to be snatched from the victor's grasp,—no great city was likely to arise until the question of ownership had

[1] Pouq. *Voy.* iii. 519: 'On reconnaît encore, lorsqu'on en est prévenu, les traces de ce canal au-dessous de Stamna' (*sc.* the canal made by Herakles, Str. p. 459!). Millingen (*Memoirs*, p. 47) refers to the same:—'(The) Aspropotamo is continually filling up some of its outlets into the sea, and has thus gradually changed its original course. One of its old channels is plainly traced from Anatolico Bay to near Catochi; and the cluster of small islands, on which stands the town of Anatolico, owes no doubt its origin to the Acheloos, from which it is now more than eight miles distant. When the inundations are considerable, the river flows again along its former bed.' The old bed referred to in these passages is now marked by the carriage-road from Aetolikó to Neochóri (opposite Katochí), from which a road branches off to the right to Mástru.

[2] Dodwell, *Tour.* i. 102.

been settled. This conclusion is borne out by the facts of the ground. As already observed, we must recognize that, powerful as the Aetolians subsequently became, they had a hard fight with the Akarnanians during the earliest period of their history, and that for long the balance of advantage lay upon the whole with the latter[1]. Consequently, on the Aetolian side of the river we find only a few strong towns, which are, indeed, little more than forts by means of which the Aetolians kept what uncertain hold they might upon the rich plain. On the Akarnanian side, on the other hand, success gave birth to the city of Oiniadai[2], one of the most important places on this coast. At last the tide of fortune set steadily in favour of the Aetolians. The Paracheloïtis was gradually subjugated. Oiniadai, long before she actually severed her connexion with the Akarnanian League, fell a prey to the Aetolian influences by which she was surrounded[3]. This at least is the most probable way of accounting for the stubborn resistance offered by this city, first to Perikles, and afterwards to Phormion and his son Asopios, in face of the otherwise unanimous adhesion of the Akarnanians to the cause of Athens[4]. In course of time the inclusion of Oiniadai in the Aetolian Federation was open and professed, and this explains the continued absence of any great city on the eastern bank of the Acheloos. Oiniadai served the Aetolians as the capital of the Paracheloïtis, just as she had previously served the Akarnanians.

[1] See p. 140.

[2] For a description of Oiniadai, see Heuzey, *op. cit.* p. 435 fol.

[3] Corinthian influences may also have been at work, as Curtius surmises in his 'Studien zur Geschichte von Korinth' in *Hermes*, vol. x. He is compelled, however, to admit that no Corinthian type appears upon the coinage of Oiniadai (*ibid.* p. 243). Its coinage is local, though its types subsequently became national. The absence of Aetolian influence upon the coins is due, of course, to the fact that the Aetolian Federal coinage was of comparatively late origin.

[4] To Perikles, Thuc. i. 111; to Phormion, *id.* ii. 102: *Οἰνιάδας ἀεί ποτε πολεμίους ὄντας μόνους Ἀκαρνάνων*; to Asopios, *id.* iii. 7. See also Thuc. iii. 94; iv. 77: *Δημοσθένης . . . Οἰνιάδας ὑπό τε Ἀκαρνάνων πάντων κατηναγκασμένους καταλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίαν.* In Paus. iv. 25. 1 the Messenians of Naupaktos *ἠπίσταντο Οἰνιάδας Ἀκαρνάνων γῆν τε ἔχοντας ἀγαθὴν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις διαφόρους τὸν πάντα ὄντας χρόνον.*

Fortunately we are spared any topographical difficulties in dealing with the Paracheloïtis. The Macedonian expedition into Lower Aetolia in 219 B.C. is reported by Polybios with a fulness of detail that leaves little to be desired[1]. After burning Metropolis, on the Akarnanian side of the river, Philip 'continued his advance against Konope. The Aetolian horse rallied and ventured to meet him at the ford of the Acheloos, which is about twenty stades before you reach the town.' Philip, however, effected a crossing in face of them, and wasted 'this district also,' i. e. the land belonging to Konope, and so he arrived at Ithoria[2]. 'This is a position completely commanding the road, and of extraordinary strength, natural as well as artificial[3]. On his approach, however, the garrison occupying the place abandoned it in a panic. The king, taking possession, levelled it to the ground; and gave orders to his skirmishing parties to treat all the forts in the district in the same way[4]. Having thus passed the narrow part of the road, he went on towards Oiniadai, slowly[5], to allow his army time to collect booty from the country. First he resolved to take Paianion, a town not large in circumference, for that was less than seven stades, but second to none in the construction of its houses, walls, and towers[6]. He carried the place by a series of assaults. The wall he levelled with its foundation, and, breaking down the houses, he packed their timbers and tiles with great care upon rafts, and sent them down the river to Oiniadai.'

Rarely have we an account that so exactly tallies with every feature of the ground as does this of Polybios. The ford of the Acheloos, the Straits, the almost impregnable Ithoria, the forts in its vicinity, the model town of Paianion,—all exist to-day little changed in appearance from what they

[1] Pol. iv. 64 fol. See p. 145.

[2] Ἐπιδιαβὰς τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ πορθήσας ἀδεῶς καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν προῆγεν εἰς τὴν Ἰθωρίαν.

[3] Ὁ κεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς παρόδου κυρίως, ὀχυρότητι δὲ φυσικῇ καὶ χειροποιήτῳ διαφέρει.

[4] Παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πύργους τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπέταξε τοῖς προνομεύουσι καταφέρειν.

[5] Διελθὼν δὲ τὰ στενὰ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη βάδην καὶ πραεῖαν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν.

[6] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν σύμπασαν κατασκευὴν οἰκιῶν καὶ τειχῶν καὶ πύργων οὐδ' ὁποίας ἥττω.

must have been after the Macedonians had been through the land with ruin and death one and twenty centuries ago.

Philip, marching through the plain below Stratos, crossed the Áspro at the point at which it begins to flow between the western spurs of the Zygós and the forest-covered heights of Mánina[1]. This hilly strip intervening between the upper and lower Aetolian plains is only about seven miles across, but, partly from its narrowness and partly by reason of the level expanse on either side, it is a well-marked and striking feature. The narrow limits within which the Acheloos is confined after passing through the upper plain fully justify the expression 'the Straits,' which Polybios applies to the belt. The rapid march of the king through this scrubby country was a measure of ordinary prudence. The capture of Ithoria released him from all anxiety as to his position. We must look for Ithoria, therefore, at the southern end of the defiles, somewhere in the vicinity of the conspicuous village of Stamná, which stands on the ridge between the Áspro and the head of the lagoon of Anatolikón.

The lofty rugged cone rising about two miles to the south of Stamná, above the small village of Hághios Elías 'at the Almond trees[2],' at once attracts the eye roaming in search of a likely site. Here at least one condition, that of natural strength, is clearly fulfilled. The rough country along the Acheloos comes to an end at the foot of this hill, and then the plain begins, gradually broadening out beyond the village of Guriá, which lies hard by the left bank of the river, two miles to the south-west of Hághios Elías. The identification does not rest solely upon this consideration. The peak contains many traces of having served as a fortified post, in the shape of walls that rank among the oldest specimens of military architecture in Aetolia.

The hill of Hághios Elías rises steeply a quarter of an hour south of the village. We should most accurately describe it as a ridge, running from north-east to south-west and composed of three members,—a steep central eminence with a lower height projecting from it on each side. Between the central peak and the north-eastern prolongation is the

[1] For the ford, see p. 210.

[2] Ἅγιος Ἠλίας σταὶς Μυγδαλιαίς. For Stamná, see Leake, N. G. iii. 544.



HILL AND VILLAGE OF HAGHIOS ELIAS AT THE ALMONDS; LOOKING SOUTH.

gateway, and it is here that the fortification is in the best state of preservation. The wall at this point runs in a straight line to the rocks of the central height, and on the other hand towards the crags that form the extremity of the projection in the north-east. Even this section remains to a height of at most only three courses, of large blocks irregularly piled, exactly in the style of the more ancient portions of the remains at Gyphtókastron and Petrovúni. Where the wall met the natural rock a bed was carefully cut for the stones, so that along the face of the crags the line of the enceinte can easily be traced. On the sloping rock at the summit of the hill three such cuttings resembling steps are called the 'King's Seat' by the peasants; and they form indeed a regal throne so far as prospect is concerned. The great summits of western Akarnania, and the higher peaks on the distant confines of Epiros, make the background of the panorama; at our feet, unfolded like a map, lie the lower hills, the plain of the Paracheloïtis, and, threading its way through both, the loam-laden stream[1] of the Acheloos. Turning to the east, we gaze over the lagoon of Aetolikón and the plains that extend southwards to Mesolónghi. The Zygós impedes the view on this side, hiding all the interior of Aetolia; we look into the green folds opposite and note the contrast between the richness of the Lower and the burnt nakedness of the Upper range, severed from each other by the chasm of the Kleisúra which we make out on the far side of the water.

The gateway by which we enter the fortress exhibits, at first sight, nothing very distinctive in its construction. It is a simple opening, three and a half feet wide, with a passage about ten feet deep, the breadth of the wall itself. On the right, just under the steep rocks of the central height, an irregular bastion-like projection from the face of the wall, or rather from the face of the cliff, serves to flank the gateway, though the saillie is very slight, being about one eighth of the interval between it and the gate. The face of the projection is turned obliquely towards the path by which an enemy would approach the gate; so that, if we regard the wall and the rock above and beyond it as a single line of defence, the projection turns out to be

[1] Thuc. ii. 102: ῥεῦμα θολερόν.

a real demi-bastion placed at the angle made by the lines at this point. The fire of the defenders stationed on the projection was thus enabled to flank both the wall in which the gateway is pierced and the base of the rock,—the former in a very effective manner owing to the fall of the ground from the bastion to the gate: at the same time they themselves were covered by their friends on the rock above them. We now see some reason both for the slightness of the projection and for its distance from the gate, the weak spot in the line. The first is due to the steepness of the slope downwards and outwards, and the desire to keep well inside the range of the missiles of the defenders on the main rock; the second to the desire to take advantage of the angle for defensive purposes. It is true that the gateway might have been placed a little nearer the bastion; but the nature of the ground makes its actual position the best that could be chosen. Nevertheless, the width of the interval between the demi-bastion and the entrance did not fail to strike the engineers of the place. This is proved by the existence of a short inner line of wall covering the entrance on the inside, exactly in the manner of the modern 'traverse.' For just within the gate the rocks rise in a slight ridge, which has been strengthened with masonry, thus creating a passage about twenty feet wide between the inner and the outer wall.

The main wall follows the outer face of the ridge towards the right and left hand from the gate, but the crags of the central hill and of the extremities of the ridge rendered artificial defences needless at those points. The three members of the hill are really disposed on the arc of a circle, with the concavity turned towards the east and the lagoon. The whole ridge is exceedingly narrow, and sinks towards the lagoon in a steep swell, on which the ancient town was built, enclosed by a wall running in a circular sweep from each extremity of the akropolis. At the head of the slope on which the houses stood there seems to have been a cross-wall severing them from the citadel, so that the latter was nothing more than the rugged crest of the hill. The wall of the town itself is scarcely traceable; in the south-west we find the fragments of a gateway in the same massive style as that of the akropolis.

The only object of interest still to be described[1] is the cistern mentioned by Leake. It is found at the head of the before-mentioned slope, just at the eastern foot of the crags constituting the summit of the hill. Leake gives the vertical section[2], but not quite accurately. The mouth, cut in the rock, is four feet nine inches square; the present depth of the excavation is over sixteen feet, but it is much choked with rubbish. A fine good stucco, of small round stones mixed with cement, lines the interior[3].

It is now time to redeem the promise made in a previous Chapter with respect to Olenos[4]. The conclusion there reached was that Gyphtókastron and Petrovúni mark the site of Old Pleuron. After its abandonment in the third century B.C., the ruins of Old Pleuron came to be looked upon as those of Olenos, and Olenos was the name actually borne by the restored town that existed for a time on the two

[1] The inscribed stele once lying in the pavement of the church of H. Elías has recently been destroyed, during the restoration of the building. Bazin saw it. It read: ΕΥΘΥΔΑΜΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ. See *Mém.* App. No. 12.

[2] N. G. iii. 552.

[3] From Leake's description of the 'extensive and interesting prospect' visible from the hill (N. G. iii. 552), we naturally suppose that he had ascended the peak. Nevertheless, he is so far from suspecting this to be an ancient site that he identifies Ithoria with another Hághios Elías, to the north of Stamná (N. G. iii. 577). *That* H. Elías is 'nearly opposite to the ruined town at Paleá Mani,' and Leake says that he heard of Hellenic remains there. A comparison with two other passages makes it quite clear that the H. Elías which Leake identified with Ithoria is quite different from the kástro we have described. After describing Palaiá Máni, he says (iii. 528): 'On the opposite side of the river stands a small tjiftlik and pyrgo called St. Elias, around which the lower falls of Zygós reach to the river side.' The two places are distinguished in iii. 552,—'St. Elias, two miles to the southward of Stamná, is distinguished from the tjiftlik of the same name on the left bank of the Aspro, opposite to Paleá Mani, by the name of St. Elias at the Almond-trees.' It is clear that Leake did not personally examine either place, and that he transferred to the H. Elías lying three or four miles north of Stamná, and three miles south-west of Anghelókastron, what he was told of the H. Elías at the Almonds, viz. that it contained Hellenic remains. The name Hághios Elías is applied to almost every conspicuous height in Greece, so that confusion is easy. We see now how Leake's section of the H. Elías cistern came to be inaccurate. There are no Hellenic remains at the northern H. Elías.

[4] See p. 136.

hills[1]. It was this spurious Olenos that deceived Strabo. He was ignorant of the fact (known to Hellanikos) that the genuine Homeric Olenos had itself also been raised from the ruins in which it had been laid by the Aioleis; much less did he dream that its name, dissevered from its true home, had seized upon the site that properly belonged to Old Pleuron.

We now advance the conjecture that the genuine site of Olenos is the hill of Hághios Elías. The town known to Polybios as Ithoria was the lineal descendant of the Homeric city. True, we have not a scrap of positive evidence to adduce in support of this hypothesis, but it is not entirely visionary. The ruins themselves give us tangible facts. On the one hand, the fortifications on Gyphtókastron belong to at least two distinct epochs; on the other, the masonry at Hághios Elías at the Almonds indubitably belongs to the earlier of the two, exhibiting all the characteristics of that primitive work which in Aetolia is confined to three or four examples. If Olenos stood at Hághios Elías, we can understand why the Akarnanians should have seized the opportunity afforded by the Aiolian invasion to swoop down upon its territory[2]. We can also see how the city could be described as being 'in the interior of Aetolia[3].' In his compilation Strabo has combined a reference to the genuine with a reference to the spurious Olenos[4].

It is generally supposed that the invasion of Philip is not the first occasion on which the name of Ithoria appears in history. Diodoros tells us how, in 314 B.C., Kassander

[1] We have, of course, no literary evidence of the restoration of the town on the hills of Gyphtókastron and Petrovúni; it is known only from the remains themselves.

[2] Str. p. 451. For the fruitfulness of its territory, cf. Stat. *Theb.* vi. 423: nec Oleniis manant tot cornibus imbres. Here there is evidently an allusion to the position of the town in the rich plain reclaimed from the Acheloos, represented in the legend as a horn broken off in his struggle with Herakles (Strabo, p. 458 fol.). Statius may be reproducing some proverbial expression which has not descended to us.

[3] Strabo, p. 460.

[4] The reference to the genuine Homeric Olenos on the hill of H. Elías is contained in the words τῆς δὲ μεσογαίας . . . κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἣν Ὦλενος (p. 460), and τῆς δὲ χώρας ἠμφισβήτουν Ἀκαρνᾶνες (p. 451). That to the spurious Olenos, on the hills Gyphtókastron and Petrovúni, lies in the statement πλησίον οὖσαν τῆς νεωτέρας Πλευρῶνος (p. 451), which is repeated in the ἐγγὺς τῆς Πλευρῶνος ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀρακύνθῳ of p. 460.

marched into Aetolia to the support of the Akarnanians[1]. Following his advice, the Akarnanians concentrated their forces by withdrawing from the smaller towns. Most of them gathered to Stratos; the people of Oiniadai, along with others, to Sauria; the Derieis to Agrinion. The Σαυρίαν of the Greek text is usually emended to Ἰθωρίαν[2]. It is impossible to decide the point; but when we recall the desperate and successful efforts of the Aetolians to recover Agrinion we may ask how it is that Ithoria, which also lies on the left bank of the Acheloos, and, therefore, geographically belongs to Aetolia, is not heard of as sharing the fate of the more northerly town.

THE FORTS.

Of the small forts mentioned by Polybios in connexion with the raid into the Paracheloïtis and meagrely described by Bazin[3], Leake apparently had no knowledge. The discovery of their remains furnishes a valuable proof of the minuteness and accuracy of the information upon which Polybios relied in questions of Aetolian topography[4].

The ruins of the first of these forts are hidden among the brambles and thick undergrowth in the woods on the left bank of the Áspro, two or three miles north of Stamná. A narrow strip of flat land runs between the river and the hillock on which the fort was built; a short distance farther north are the vestiges of the 'Two Churches,' which give their name to the site. The hillock contains the insignificant remains of a small quadrangular redoubt, the wall of which stands at one corner to a height of three courses, composed of large blocks laid regularly, but with joints oblique. At a distance of a few paces we see the foundations of small buildings among the bushes, but it is impossible to make out their meaning.

[1] Diod. xix. 67. See p. 172.

[2] So Leake, N. G. i. 156, *note* 1. Bursian, *Geogr.* i. 120, accepts the emendation, but puts both Ithoria and Paianion on the right bank of the Acheloos, identifying the former with the kástro of Palaiománi; cf. *id. Rh. Mus.* xvi. p. 440. Heuzey, *L'Acarnanie.* p. 434, keeps Σαυρίαν (= Lizard town) as a town of Akarnania, and identical with Palaiománi. Lolling also puts Ithoria at Palaiománi.

[3] *Mém.* p. 340.

[4] Cf. p. 258 for a conjecture as to the ultimate authority for all that Polybios tells us with regard to the topography of Aetolia.

If we descend from the village of Hághios Elías at the Almonds in a direct line westwards to the Acheloos, we reach the Hellenikó, as the remains of the second fort are called. They also lie on a slight elevation, the last towards the river, which flows at only a few yards' distance. Only a few stones of the two lowest courses are left *in situ*, but the outline of the small enceinte is easily traced by means of the carefully cut beds prepared for the blocks where the rocks project above the surface of the hill. Its plan is that of a quadrangle, about thirty-eight feet long and twenty-seven feet wide, with its longest axis running east and west. As in the first fort, in the thickness of the wall there is only a single stone, measuring more than two feet across and two feet in depth; the foundation course is only half that depth, projecting slightly beyond the face of the wall, as is often the case in Hellenic masonry of the best kind.

The third redoubt is about half an hour's walk due south down the river in the direction of the village of Guriá, which stands conspicuously on a low height close to the Áspro. A similar but much smaller knoll a hundred yards from the river bears the fragments of the fort, in the midst of which are the ruined walls of an ancient church[1]. Hághios Elías is half an hour away to the north-east; to the south, a dusty plain of soft yellowish clayey soil extends to the hill of Guriá ten minutes distant, and continues beyond it in the direction of Mástru. So far as can be made out, this fort also was a quadrangular enclosure lying east and west, but it is only at the north-western and south-western corners that any of the original work remains: the structure has been ruined to provide material for the church. The wall of this redoubt may have been of somewhat greater thickness than that of the two lying farther to the north. The enclosure measured about sixty-five feet in length and fifty-two in breadth. In style of work it precisely resembles the two redoubts first described.

These are without doubt the forts in the vicinity of Ithoria that were dismantled by Philip's troops. The word πύργοι, 'towers,' applied to them by Polybios, exactly expresses their character. Their small size excites surprise, and it is impossible that they should have been seriously intended for

[1] Of the Holy Apostles, or of St. John. I heard both names.



FORT OF ST. JOHN NEAR THE ACHELOOS; LOOKING SOUTH.

military purposes. Their connexion, again, is with the river rather than with the road, and it is evident from the nature of the ground that not one of the three redoubts can have been designed to prevent the passage of an enemy along the left bank of the Áspro. The grandiloquent description given by Bazin [1], that they 'disputed the passage at the point at which the defile ceases and the plain begins,' is neither true of their actual position nor has it here any real significance. They were probably intended to serve as look-out posts over the fords of the Acheloos, and as temporary places of refuge for the labourers in the plain in case the Akarnanians succeeded in stealing upon them. The total absence of fallen or scattered blocks suggests that the original height of the enclosures was insignificant. They were little more than ordinary breastworks,—of course made in stone; for the Greeks, as Polybios points out [2], never developed the tactics of the spade. This conclusion is confirmed by the absence of any trace of doorways or other means of entrance. In the case of such buildings, little more than sentry boxes, there was no difficulty in springing over the parapet, while to prevent an enemy doing the same was an easier task than it would have been to hold a doorway, which, not being flanked in any way, and in so confined a space, would have depended for defence upon the arm of a single man.

PAIANION.

About one hour to the south of Guriá, and the same distance west of Anatolikón, lies the village of Mástru [3]. Between the Acheloos and the hill on which the village stands, about a quarter of a mile from either, there rises a rocky eminence of moderate elevation, crowned with remains. Their existence was reported by Leake [4]. The summit of the hill is level, except for a slight swell in the north-west. The wall runs along the crest, following the configuration of the hill, so that the ground-plan of the fort is

[1] *Mém. l. c.* 'disputaient le passage au moment où le défilé cesse et où la plaine commence.'

[2] Pol. vi. 42.

[3] Μάστρου.

[4] N. G. iii. 553: 'On a projecting point of the Stamná ridge, half-way between Mastú and the Áspro, are the foundations of a fortified κώμη, nearly of the same size as those at Skortús and Pródhromo.' The latter are kástra of Akarnania.

that of an irregular polygon, with a circuit of less than half a mile. Unfortunately the enceinte is ruined to the foundations; only at a few points can it be found existing to a height of one or two courses. Its breadth varies from eight to ten feet. At regular intervals of fifty feet, square towers are placed, of which the face measurement varies from twenty to twenty-six feet; they project some twenty feet from the wall. The style is upon the whole a careful form of 'regular Hellenic,' but here and there we find oblique joints and courses cutting one into the other. The hill is not naturally strong, but this has been compensated by the multiplicity of towers, and by solidity and care in construction. Within the enclosure we trace foundations of public or private buildings of the same careful workmanship. Near them, but scarcely distinguishable, are vestiges of a gateway in the eastern wall. Scattered over the site are fragments of tiles.

It is scarcely necessary to call attention to the numerous points of agreement between the features of these remains and the description of Paianion in the pages of Polybios. We can only wonder on what grounds Paianion has been sought elsewhere; as by Becker at the village of Katochí, on the western bank of the Áspro[1]. He imagines Philip to have crossed the river by the fords of Guriá. Heuzey, however, does not mention Katochí as an ancient site. The ruins there seen are Byzantine; the ancient Greek stele found in the church cannot prove that a town existed on the spot in classical times[2]. Nevertheless, Becker has come

[1] *Diss.* ii. 20: 'quare eodem loco hoc puto fuisse, quo nunc Katochi est pagus, IV mill. gr. ab illorum (*sc.* Oiniadai) moenibus distans, ubi insignia quaedam, quamvis pauca, antiquitatis monumenta manent.' He seems to have been influenced by the words ἦκε πρὸς τοὺς Οἰνιάδας. καταστρατοπεδεύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸ Παιάνιον. That Philip crossed the Acheloos by the ford at Guriá is probable enough; but in order to cover the crossing it was essential to occupy the fortress at Mástru, and Becker does not take this into account. The fact that the crossing is not mentioned by Polybios is correctly explained by Becker, *ibid. note* 85: 'Ubi propter hostium insidias maius periculum ac discrimen affertur, a diligenti historico tales res enarrantur, alias vero saepius omittuntur.' Lolling (Müller's *Handbuch.* iii. 140) puts Paianion 'verm. auf dem Hügel von Magula.'

[2] Cf. Leake, N. G. iv, *inscr.* No. 163:—ΦΟΡΜΙΩΝ|ΘΥΙΩΝΟΣ. *Id.* iii. 556. Böckh, C. I. G. 1796[b].

very near the truth in putting the Homeric Olenos at the kástro of Mástru [1].

A theory found in the *Dictionary of Geography* is not so easily disproved. The writer of the Article '*Aetolia*' suggests that after its destruction by Philip the town was rebuilt and renamed,—that Paianion became Phana. The scanty information given by Pausanias about Phana does not contain anything actually incompatible with this suggestion. Our evidence must be derived from the ruins themselves. The masonry of the kástro of Mástru exhibits no sign of restoration, nor any trace of such variety as would indicate difference in date. It must be confessed that, in the present state of the remains, this negative argument is worth very little. A stronger consideration is the fact that the hypothesis is unnecessary.

The difficult question of the lakes mentioned by Strabo as existing in Southern Aetolia still awaits discussion. It is impossible to dismiss the topography of the lower plain without attacking the problem, but it is perhaps equally impossible to reconstruct satisfactorily the ancient outline of the coast. Strabo's words are sufficiently clear, although his inability either to harmonize or to set aside the conflicting statements of Artemidoros and Apollodoros, who wrote a century before him, justifies us in concluding that he had no personal knowledge of Aetolia. While correct in the main, his ideas of its geography lack the precision that can be gained only from a first-hand acquaintance with the country. What he says is this [2]:—'Then come Oiniadai and the Acheloos. Next there is the lake of Oiniadai, called Melite, thirty stades long and twenty broad. A second lake, Kynia, is twice that length and breadth [3]; but a third, Ouria, is a good deal smaller [4]. Kynia has also an outlet into the sea; but the others are about half a stade from it.' To this we must add a passage already quoted:—'There is also a large lake full of fish near Kalydon, in the possession of the Romans of Patrai [5].'

[1] *Diss.* ii. 22.

[2] Str. p. 459.

[3] διπλασία ταύτης καὶ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος.

[4] πολλῷ τούτων μικροτέρα.

[5] *Id.* p. 460.

We have therefore to find, on the coast or near it, between Oiniadai and the mouth of the Phídharis, four lakes:—

1. Melite.	30 × 20 stades.	Half-stade from sea.
2. Kynia.	60 × 40 stades.	Opening into sea.
3. Ouria.	Smaller.	Half-stade from sea.
4. Kalydon.	Large.	Near Kalydon.

The first remark to be made is that at the present day Aetolia possesses only two lakes, in the strict sense of the word, both of them in the interior. The lakes of Strabo have entirely disappeared, or exist now only as marshes or lagoons. Secondly, we may dismiss from consideration the lake of Kalydon; it has already been identified with the lagoon of Bochóri extending between the islet of Klísova and the mouth of the Phídharis. It is useless to look for the Kalydonian lake elsewhere, as for instance between the Phídharis and Mount Varássova. It is true that just at the base of the rock of Varássova the tract of low ground on which Kryonéri stands shows evidence of having once been covered by the sea, and bears to-day the name of Xerolímni, the 'dry lake'; but it is too small to be identified with the 'great' lake of Kalydon. Still less can the Xerolímni have been Ouria[1], for we cannot believe that Strabo has been so careless of method as first to enumerate the lakes near the Acheloos, and then to give the name of one to the east of the lake of Kalydon, without mentioning that large and important lake itself[2]. It is quite clear that in his list of lakes he confines himself to those lying west of the lake of Kalydon, and subsequently mentions that lake in its proper place.

Accordingly, the problem is put before us in this form: —to find between Oiniadai and the lagoon of Bochóri three lakes, Melite, Kynia, and Ouria. With regard to Melite we may take it as certain that it corresponds to the marsh now surrounding the ruins of Oiniadai, the marsh of Trikardhon or Lezíni. It is perhaps a needless difficulty

[1] Melite and Kynia are of course out of the question, on account of their size.

[2] After the discussion on p. 104 it is clearly quite impossible for us to admit that the Xerolímni can have been a lake either in Strabo's time or in that of any authority to which he had access. But it seemed best in the text to rebut the alternatives without reference to a conclusion in which all may not agree.

to urge that its name occurs after instead of before that of the Acheloos. The geographer probably wished to group the lakes irrespectively of their strict sequence with other features. Lezíni is indeed very much larger than the Melite of Strabo, but the depopulation of the country and the consequent destruction of all works of drainage and the like are probably sufficient to account for the increase of the marshes about the mouth of the Áspro.

Leake, with some hesitation, adopts the view that the lagoon of Aetolikó is Kynia, and that of Mesolónghi Ouria. On that supposition he says[1]: 'the dimensions which Strabo assigns to Cynia will indeed be tolerably correct, but Uria ought to have been described as much larger instead of smaller than Cynia.' The true dimensions, however, of the lagoon of Aetolikó are materially less than those which Strabo gives for the lake of Kynia (60 × 40 stades). Its total length, taking the limits as given by Leake himself[2], scarcely exceeds five miles: and it is less than three miles across at its widest part, i.e. some two miles north of the town of Anatolikón[3]. Moreover, Leake's identification makes Kynia open into Ouria, and the latter lake also connect with the sea,—both features being clearly opposed to the words of Strabo.

The most serious objection to Leake's theory is that it does not answer to the true description of the lagoons. In strictness there is no lagoon of Mesolónghi, such as he supposes. The outer lagoon is composed of three distinct parts. On the east is the lagoon of Bochóri, which we hold to be the lake of Kalydon. On the west is the lagoon called

[1] N. G. iii. 573.

[2] According to Leake, N. G. iii. 529, Aetolikó lies 'about three miles distant from the northern extremity of the lagoon at the foot of the ridge of Stamná'; this, however, is under the mark. The southern limit of the lagoon is vaguely drawn somewhere a little to the south of the town. Leake, N. G. iii. 531, speaks of the 'long low cape' half-way between Anatolikó and Alikí as the line of division between the lagoons of Mesolónghi and Anatolikón. If we put the entire length of the Anatolikó lagoon as high as fifty stades (six miles), we cannot accept Strabo's sixty as a fair approximation.

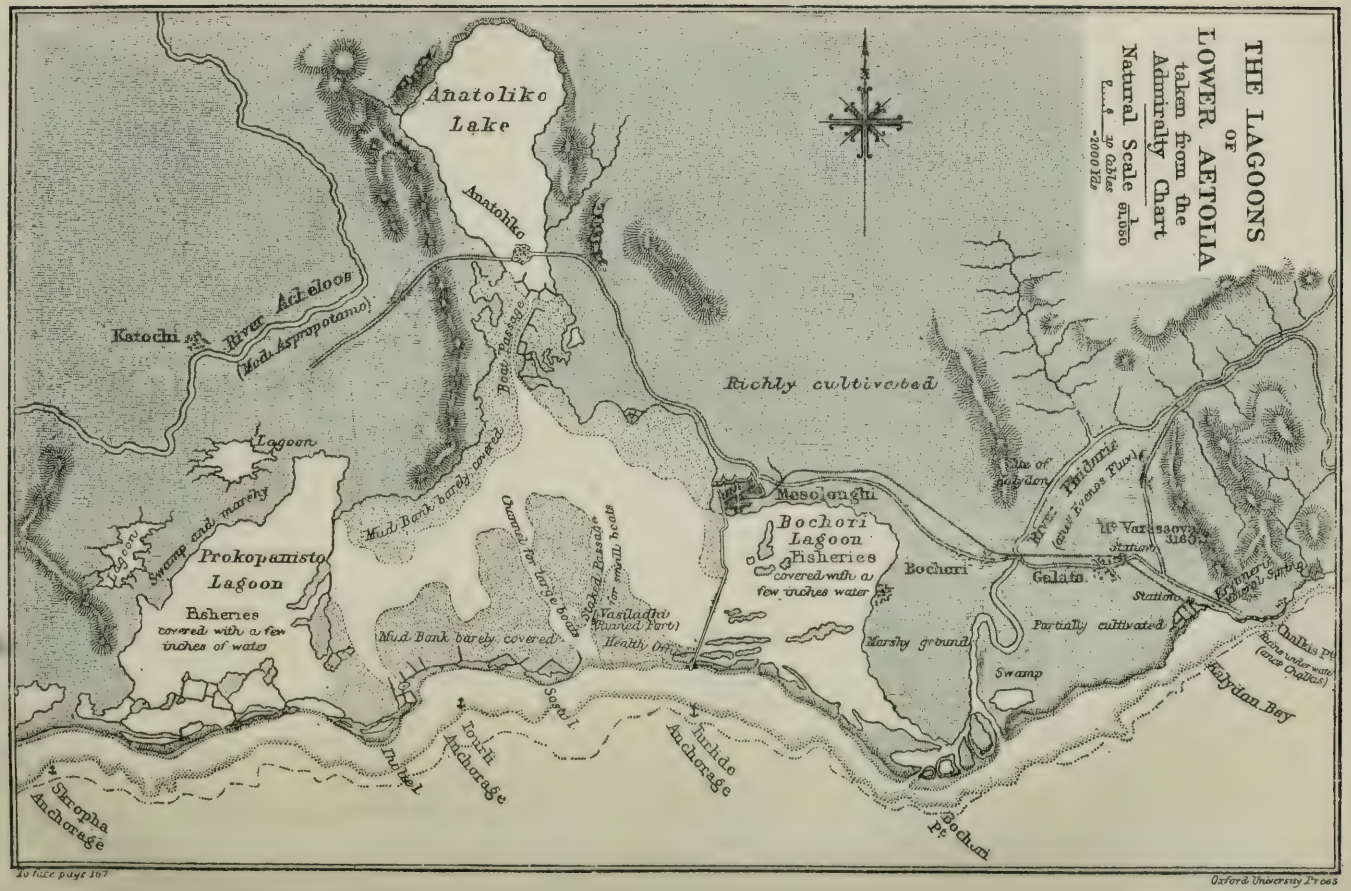
[3] Leake, N. G. iii. 529, estimates the town to be 'a mile distant from the bank on either side to the east and west,' which is double the actual distance. The town marks the narrowest part of the lagoon.

Prokopánisto, which lies from north-east to south-west, between the hill of Kurtzolári and the ridge running down the western side of the Aetolikó lagoon from Stamná. Between Prokopánisto and the lagoon of Bochóri is a third section, separated from the outer sea by a series of mud-banks, between which are various channels leading ultimately into the lagoon of Aetolikó. This third section is in reality nothing but the continuation of the upper or Aetolikó lagoon, beset towards the sea with shoals[1]. That it was to this part that Leake gave the name 'lagoon of Mesolónghi' is proved by his map, which hardly indicates either Prokopánisto or the narrow passage between the Aetolikó and Mesolónghi portions of the lagoon. When we clearly understand that we have to deal with an eastern and a western lagoon, separated from each other by a gulf or inlet running up between them far into the interior, we are furnished with the elements necessary for the solution of our problem, viz. three lakes or lagoons, one of them communicating with the sea. That on the east has already been identified as the lake of Kalydon, so that we have only to assign the names Kynia and Ouria to the two remaining portions.

Our choice between the two possible alternatives would naturally be based upon a comparison of the actual with the given dimensions[2]: for the order of names is no guide. If we accept the sixty and forty stades given by Strabo as the dimensions of Kynia, how far do they square with the actual measurements? The lagoon of Aetolikó, taken in the strict sense,—the sense in which the term was understood by Leake,—measures at most fifty and twenty stades. The total length of the inlet, from the outer 'thread' (ῥάμμα), may be put at ten miles, or eighty stades; and its breadth in the

[1] Leake himself (N. G. iii. 573) observes that the lagoons of Anatolikón and Mesolónghi are 'in fact but one lake.' He there dismisses the supposition that the whole inlet may have been Kynia with the criticism that such a theory would leave us with only one lagoon (that of Bochóri) for the other two lakes (those of Kalydon and Ouria).

[2] 'We are not, however, inclined to attach too much value to the measurements given by Strabo. They are characterized by vagueness and also by a false assumption of accuracy. The epithets 'large' and 'much less,' applied to the lakes of Kalydon and Ouria respectively, teach us little; while the 'twice as long and broad,' applied to Kynia, suggests the charge of mere affectation of precision.



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lower part is upwards of forty stades[1]. The lagoon of Prokopánisto is something over sixty stades in length, but considerably under forty in breadth. Thus the lagoon of Prokopánisto comes nearer the dimensions of Kynia as given by Strabo than does the lagoon of Aetolikó, in either the narrower or the wider sense of the name. On the other hand, the latter lagoon fulfils the important condition of having communication with the sea.

The problem is further complicated by the probability that the alteration of the coast-line has not been due solely to constructive forces. The barrier of alluvium deposited during the period in which the Acheloos flowed through the Kleisúra into the lagoons has undoubtedly been broken up and re-deposited, or in part washed away entirely by the constant action of the sea. It is thus possible that the Prokopánisto lagoon has been enlarged by the shifting of the sandbanks which cut it off from the sea, and that on the other hand the islet on which Aetolikó stands is only the remnant of a continuous bank by which the head of the lagoon was separated from the lower part about Mesolónghi[2]. Following up such considerations we should end by concluding that the problem is insoluble. If an answer is still demanded, we would follow Leake in identifying the Anatolikó lagoon with Lake Kynia[3], but we would substitute

[1] Measuring from H. Triádha Point, at the N.E. angle of Prokopánisto, to the Mesolónghi causeway.

[2] Some colour is lent to this idea by the soundings. The lagoon of Aetolikó (using the term in the strict sense) is perhaps genetically of a different character from the southern part of the inlet (i. e. the part comprised under the names of Prokopánisto, Bochóri, and the so-called lagoon of Mesolónghi). Parlapas (Ἑστία, No. 321, p. 123) says that in the middle it has a depth of over 60^{m}: cf. Ἑστία, Nos. 316, 328. It would seem, therefore, to be a deep basin, possibly of volcanic origin, of which the rim has been broken away so as to communicate with the inlet of the sea to the southward. I have not seen the papers by Parlapas; they are quoted by Oberhummer, in the *Jahresbericht der Geogr. Gesell.* Munich. 1885, Heft x. p. 115 fol.

[3] N. G. iii. 574. Evidently connected with the lakes is the 'peninsula' mentioned in Ptolemy iii. 14. 2: Μετὰ τὸν Ἀχελῷον ποταμόν, ὅς ἐστιν ὅριον τῆς Ἠπείρου, ἐν τῷ Ἀδριατικῷ πελάγει· Αἰτωλίας· Χερσονήσου ἄκρον, Εὐήνου ποτ. ἐκβολαί. Meletios, *Geogr.* ii. 306, has this in his mind when he writes: Ὁ Ἰσθμὸς τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Αἰτωλίας, εἶναι σχεδὸν μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἀνατολικοῦ, καὶ τῆς Κατοχῆς. He therefore takes the ἄκρον of Ptolemy to be the mod. Cape

Prokopánisto for the 'lagoon of Mesolónghi' as the modern representative of Ouria.

Skróphes. In Strabo, p. 59, we read: *καὶ Αἰτωλικαὶ δέ τινες ἄκραι εἰσὶ νησίζουσαι πρότερον.* What these *ἄκραι* are, if they are not the former Echinades, is not very clear. Becker, *Diss.* ii. 15, understands Strabo to mean the *ῥάμμα* which divides the lagoons from the sea; but the word *ἄκραι* must be something more than that. Becker argues that the old Echinades cannot be meant, as they and Artemita have already been mentioned in this and the preceding sentence of the passage in question. Nevertheless, it is better to take the words quoted as summing up what has been said about the silting-up of the channels dividing the Echinades from the mainland. I suspect that there is some corruption in the text. Perhaps we should read: *καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον νησίδων τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος φασὶ παθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προχώσεως τοῦ πελάγους, καὶ Αἰτωλικαὶ ἄκραι εἰσί, νησίζουσαι πρότερον·* κ.τ.λ. The words *συγχοῦνται δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαί, ὡς Ἡρόδοτός φησι* must be put in parentheses, or omitted. They have the air of an annotation.

CHAPTER XIII.

Central Aetolia.

SITES BETWEEN THE ASPRO AND THE EREMITSAS.

Advancing from the spurs of the Zygós up the Acheloos we do not meet with remains on either bank of the river until we reach the hills on the northern edge of the central plain. There we find the ruins of two towns that were of great importance in Aetolian history. They are those of Agrinion on the east, and of Stratos on the west, of the Acheloos. Geographically, Stratos of course belonged to Akarnania, but, as also was the case with Oiniadai, its history is bound up with that of Aetolia. For a description and plan of its site reference must be made to the work of M. Heuzey[1].

The remains on the Aetolian side of the river are known as the Kástro of Spoláïta[2], so called from the nearest village, which lies about two miles to the north of the site, among the hills that run back to the river Zérvas. The last southern spur of these hills bears the ruins which we identify as those of the ancient Agrinion[3]. The akropolis height is a semi-isolated ridge, running north and south. The summit of the ridge forms a level platform, with a knoll at its northern end, from which it falls steeply to the bed of the Platanórema[4]. On the west it sinks no less abruptly

[1] *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, p. 331 fol. This should be supplemented by reference to the account of the French excavations on the site.

[2] Σπολάϊτα. [3] Following Bazin, *Mém.* p. 315.

[4] Πλατανόρρευμα. It gets its name from its numerous plane-trees. It contains practically no water in summer.

to the plain, which, dotted with trees, extends as far as the Acheloos, about a mile distant.

An irregular pentagonal enclosure occupies the whole summit of the ridge, but the area embraced is not large. The course of the wall can be traced throughout its extent. For the most part it is destroyed to the foundation, especially on the west and north. On these two sides it followed the edge of the steep crags, and consequently did not require any flanking defence. On the south and east, where the slope is more gentle, square towers were employed,—two on the short southern wall crossing the ridge, and six along the eastern line of the enclosure. It is only along the latter side that the wall remains to any considerable height; in one place we find nine courses, which means about twelve feet[1]. Its breadth averages ten feet. The style is a careful form of 'irregular Hellenic,'—courses of nearly uniform depth, rarely cutting into each other, and the joints generally upright. The material employed is the soft brown local sandstone, which has a natural tendency to split into quadrangular blocks.

Two gateways may be traced, in the eastern wall. One of them is defended by two towers. The other, at the north-eastern angle of the enceinte, opens into a narrow passage, one side of which is bounded by the eastern wall itself. On the eminence at the northern end of the enclosure, and on the platform below it, are seen numerous traces of buildings and terraces similar to those at the kástro of Mástru, to which fortress this of Spoláïta bears in other respects a close resemblance. One of the most striking points about the site is the view obtained from it towards the south and west. The prospect embraces the expanse on both sides of the Acheloos meandering in numerous channels over the broad stony bed which blushes with oleanders or glistens dazzlingly white between Aetolia and Akarnania[2]. In the

[1] The topmost course is about level with the ground inside the enclosure, so that the wall must have been originally at least six courses higher than it now stands.

[2] This may have been the origin of the modern name. Aspropótamo = White River. Cf. Leake, N. G. iii. 513. Or the name may have been derived from the colour of the water. Cf. Mure, *Journal.* i. 102: 'Its waters are of a whitish yellow or cream colour, similar to those of the



PART OF EASTERN WALL OF ANCIENT AGRINION.

south-west, to the left of the ridge that projects into the plain on the far side of the river, marking the site of Stratos, we catch the silvery gleam of Lake Ozerós, or Lykovitsi, at the foot of the mountains of the Xerómeros. Away in the south-east we have a glimpse of the lake of Anghelókastron beyond the conical height on which stood the citadel of Arsinoe.

There can be no doubt about the identity of the kástro of Spoláïta with Agrinion. Polybios makes this clear in his account of the march of Philip V against Thermon in 218 B.C.[1] The Macedonian army, after fording the Acheloos, had Agrinion and the Thestieis on the left hand. Since the route followed the southern shore of the two Aetolian lakes, the towns on the left hand must be sought in the interval between the Acheloos and the lake of Anghelókastron, as it would clearly do violence to language to bring into connexion with such a line of march towns that lay on the farther (i.e. northern) side of the lakes. In this interval there are, at most, only two sites. That the one nearest the Acheloos belongs to Agrinion follows from the order of the names, which in this passage must strictly correspond with the real sequence of the cities. Hence Leake, who was ignorant of the existence of remains at Spoláïta, was not far wrong in locating Agrinion near Zapándi[2]. Zapándi, however, lies entirely in the plain, and is therefore not a likely site for a town of the early period to which Agrinion belongs.

The discussion concerning the locality of the Agraioi[3] has settled for us the value to be attached to the likeness between their name and that of Agrinion. On the strength of that likeness Agrinion has often been put much farther north than the site we have described; but that misses the truth with regard to both the town and the tribe. When Polybios says that Agrinion lay on the left hand of the Macedonians as they advanced eastwards, it is absurd to

Tyber, or perhaps somewhat lighter. This colour, although perhaps at the present moment arising in part from the melted snow, would seem to be natural to the stream.' See also Millingen, *Memoirs*. p. 47; Dodwell, *Tour*. i. 103. In neither respect is the river peculiar among those of Greece.

[1] Pol. v. 7. [2] N. G. i. 156. [3] See p. 83.

imagine that he could have chosen to define their route across the plain by reference to a point many miles distant in the mountains to the north. The sudden change in the mode of his enumeration has been found to contain sure proof of the clearness and accuracy of his geographical conceptions[1].

Leake is undoubtedly right in deriving the name of Agrinion from Agrios, whose family was exalted in Kalydon after the fall of Oineus[2]. The events which the legend shadows forth as an inroad into Aetolia led by Diomedes from Argos[3] brought about the utter ruin of the house of Agrios. Its remnants, like the sons of Thestios[4], were fain to fly northwards to win a habitation in the central plain, thus forming a bulwark against the spread of the Akarnanians into the land east of the Acheloos.

The strategic value of Agrinion comes out very clearly in 314 B.C.[5] Kassander of Macedon in that year appeared in North Aetolia with the design of re-organizing the frontier defence of Akarnania, in order to check the rapid westward advance of the Aetolian power. The legacy of strife bequeathed from the Heroic Age[6] to the rival peoples on the banks of the Acheloos was about to enter upon a new phase, and the very means devised to strengthen the hands of the Akarnanians were a sure indication of the direction in which the tide of supremacy was setting. Kassander urged the Akarnanians to leave their smaller posts in order to concentrate in the strongest positions of the debatable territory[7]. The three fortresses chosen were Stratos, Agrinion, and Ithoria[8]. The fact that two of them lie east of the Acheloos shows that, as we have already declared[9], Akarnania had hitherto more than maintained her ground against Aetolia; but this determination to concentrate in the

[1] See p. 87.

[2] N. G. i. 155.

[3] Paus. ii. 25. 2; Str. p. 462.

[4] See p. 86.

[5] Diod. xix. 67. 3.

[6] Diod. *l. c.*: *διελθὼν ὅτι πόλεμον ἔχουσιν ὅμορον ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων.*

[7] *Συνεβούλευεν ἐκ τῶν ἀνωχύρων* [MSS. *ὀχυρῶν*] *καὶ μικρῷ χωρίων εἰς ὀλίγας πόλεις μετοικῆσαι.*

[8] *Οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν εἰς Στράτον πόλιν συνῴκησαν, ὀχυρωτάτην οὖσαν καὶ μεγίστην, Οἰνιάδαι δὲ καί τινες ἄλλοι συνῆλθον ἐπὶ Σαυρίαν*, Δεριεῖς δὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων εἰς Ἀγρίνιον.* For *Σαυρία* see p. 159.

[9] See pp. 140, 152.

border fortresses was the last desperate resolve of a people conscious that dominion was slipping from their grasp.

Agrinion and Stratos give each other mutual support, and command the fords of the Acheloos north of the Zygós, as does Ithoria those south of the range. Of the two positions on the Aetolian side of the river, Agrinion is by far the most important. Ithoria, though of surpassing strength in itself, has not to the same extent as Agrinion that desirable immediate command of the plain for the possession and defence of which it was primarily fortified. Agrinion, again, being the only carefully fortified city in the western portion of the central Aetolian plain[1], situated on its very threshold, was invaluable as a base for Akarnanian invaders, but terribly menacing to an Aetolian army attempting reprisals[2]. Kassander judged aright when he selected Agrinion for one of the great fortresses, but he defeated his own end. He made it patent to the Aetolians that the duel between themselves and the Akarnanians must be fought out under its walls. The grim answer to the challenge issued from the king's tent on the banks of the Kampylos was the immediate investment of the town, and the massacre of its garrison as it marched out after capitulation.

We have already put forth the conjecture that the hill country north of Agrinion was occupied by the tribe of the Thestieis[3]. The two sections of that tribe, the Eiteaioi and the Eoitanes, inhabited the entire tract included between the Áspro and Mount Viéna, and between the central plain and the river Zérvas. Possibly, indeed, their southern boundary was coincident with the northern shore of the lakes. With equal probability we may take the river Eremítsas to have formed the line of division between the two sections of the Thestieis. The chief town of the section living on the west of the

[1] Konope (Anghelókastron) was a mere κώμη until about 285 B. C. See p. 215.

[2] This might have been strikingly exemplified in the winter of 1822, when the Turks were in full retreat from Mesolónghi. But the disunion of the Greek leaders caused them to abandon this first line of defence for one more to the west, the Pass of Machalás. Trik. ii. 378. This pass can of course be turned, as it was in 426 B. C. (Thuc. iii. 106).

[3] See p. 86.

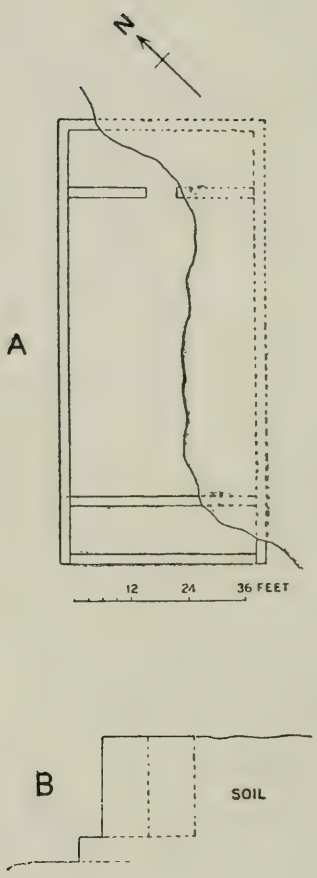
Eremítsas must have been the strong fortress now known as the Kástro of Mavrovrú [1].

The miserable hamlet of Mavrovrú lies on the banks of the Zérvas, some six hours north of the modern town of Agrinion (Vrachóri). On the left bank of the river there rises a steep pyramid, connected towards the south-east with two smaller conical heights. On the south and west the main eminence falls in perpendicular cliffs; in the course of ages the earth has been washed from the summit above the crags, and is now gathered at their base in a shelving bank overgrown with brushwood and littered with huge fragments of conglomerate split from the precipices. On the north the hill falls somewhat less steeply towards the Zérvas. On this side, just under the summit, there is a small level space, once used as a threshing-floor. The peasants call it ἡ Πόρτα, 'the Gate': here in fact the entrance to the akropolis must have been placed. The line of the fortifications can be traced from the base of the precipices at the north-western corner of the hill round the edge of the level to the crags of the southern side. On the south and west the sheer rock rendered artificial defences unnecessary. It is impossible to make out the plan of the gateway leading to the platform, for, in addition to the havoc wrought during the building of the threshing-floor, we trace repairs and alterations dating from the Middle Ages. Many fragments of an architectural character are scattered about [2], or used in the repairs, such as pieces of small Doric columns, and slabs with sinkings for ⌐¬ cramps. The style of work is fair 'irregular Hellenic.' The material employed is noteworthy. It is throughout a grey sandstone of firm and close texture, whereas the natural rock of the hill is a very coarse conglomerate [3]. The summit of the akropolis contains no vestiges of antiquity; like many another Aetolian citadel, it is a wilderness of bare crags and tangled brushwood. The ancient town must have stood on

[1] Μαυροβροῦ = 'Black Water.' Bazin (*Mém.* p. 316) calls the ruins those of 'Thestia,' the capital of the Thestieis. But he makes no attempt to reconcile the position assigned to the Thestieis with that assigned to the two tribes mentioned on the boundary stone (*ibid.* p. 317).

[2] Some of them are ornamented with crosses. These are probably the reported γράμματα for which I searched in vain.

[3] Geologically the hill appears to belong to the same formation as that of Anghelókastron.



6. TEMPLE ON ZÉRVAS.

A. PLAN.

B. SECTION OF SIDE-WALL.

To face p. 175.

the northern slope running down to the Zérvas; a few fragments of the lower enceinte may be traced in this direction. Although of moderate elevation, the hill of Mavrovrú, partly from its comparative isolation, partly from its striking outline, dominates the surrounding country. It is in this respect the complement of the still more striking and conspicuous hill of Vlochós, which is visible far down in the south-east on the banks of the Eremítsas.

On the banks of the Zérvas, some distance west of the kástro of Mavrovrú, we find an interesting ruin, the more interesting for the rarity of similar remains in the land of the Aetolians. The Zérvas at the point indicated is spanned by a modern stone bridge on the line of a proposed high road between Agrinion and Hághios Vlásis. The road has never been completed, and the bridge is now a ruin. It is known as Frankóskala, the 'Bridge of the Franks.' It leads directly to a level piece of ground stretching for a short distance along the left bank of the river. On this small plain the remains in question are to be seen.

We discover a quadrangular enclosure, ninety-two feet long and forty-three feet wide. At fourteen feet from either end, cross-walls divide the enclosure into three chambers. In one of the partition walls we find a doorway, seven feet wide. The outer wall stands to a uniform height of a little more than two and a half feet. It is constructed of upright slabs, uniform in size, standing on a projecting cillcourse of squared stones; there are two slabs in the thickness of the wall, which measures two feet in breadth. The longest axis of the building lies from north-east to south-west. The soil brought down from the neighbouring high ground has almost completely buried the two adjacent sides nearest the hill, and the accumulation within the enclosure is on a level with the top of the two sides that are exposed.

Without doubt we have before us a small temple belonging to the Thestieis. There are no vestiges of columns or other architectural members to be seen in the vicinity, but foundations of rectangular buildings are visible a few yards to the north of the temple. The clearance of this small site might yield interesting results, especially as no purely Aetolian temple, or building of any kind, has as yet been excavated.

The river Zérvas[1] is identified by some topographers with the ancient Petitaros[2], and their error is perpetuated in modern maps. The Petitaros is mentioned only once by the ancient authorities,—in the passage of Livy wherein are described the operations undertaken by Perseus of Macedon in the winter of 170 B.C.[3] When the king found that his design of occupying Stratos had been forestalled, he 'crossed the river Petitaros, and encamped five miles from the city.' We notice that Livy does not say that the Petitaros itself was five miles from Stratos, but that the camp of Perseus, after he had crossed the stream, was at that distance[4]. We have already pointed out the impossibility of reconciling Livy's description with the supposition that the Zérvas is the Petitaros[5]. We need only ask how Perseus, being practically in retreat, could have ventured to cross the Acheloos under the eyes of the enemy concentrated in Stratos[6]. There is in fact but one stream to the north of Stratos fulfilling the conditions of the narrative. That is the small stream of Kriekúki, flowing in a south-easterly direction from Varetádha, and falling into the Áspro at a distance of seven kilomètres[7] north of Surovígli (Stratos).

The identification of the Petitaros with the Kriekúki river was proposed by Leake. The preference of modern topographers for the identification suggested by Heuzey and

[1] ὁ Ζέρβας.

[2] Heuzey, *L'Acarnanie*. p. 345; Bazin, *Mém.* p. 295.

[3] Livy, xliii. 21 fol.

[4] Quinque millia passuum ab urbe trans Petitarum amnem posuit castra.

[5] See p. 80.

[6] There are, however, no fords, at any rate in winter, between the bridge on the line of the Vrachóri-Karvassarás road and the Zérvas. We might ask further what was gained by crossing the Acheloos at a point that put the Zérvas in his rear. That such must have been the case (if the Zérvas be the Petitaros) is clear from Livy's statement that the king crossed the Petitaros before pitching his camp. The possible rejoinder, that he crossed it in order to come *southwards* into Aetolia, is disproved by the fact that the next move was into Aperantia, which district all topographers, including Bazin (*Mém.* p. 295), agree in locating *north* of the Zérvas.

[7] Polybios wrote 40 stades (Livy is of course copying him). This is almost exactly the distance given by Livy (5 R. miles), if we may take a Roman mile to contain, roundly, 1500 mètres.

Bazin seems to be partly due to a misunderstanding of Leake's statement of his own case. He writes as follows[1]:— 'At less than two hours above Surovígli (Stratos), the river (Áspro) is joined, on the same side, by a tributary which originates to the eastward of Mount Makrinóro, and at an equal distance beyond the river are the ruins of another Hellenic city, at a village near the right bank, named Prevéntza. The river I take to be the Petitarus, if this name be correct in the text of Livy, and the ruins those of the town of Aperantia, of which Prevéntza may be a corruption. Livy indeed seems to allude to Aperantia only as a district; but Stephanus, in reference to the corresponding passage of Polybius, which is lost, shows the city also to have been named 'Απεράντεια.'

It is generally taken for granted that the un-named river to which Leake is here proposing to give the name Petitaros is the large stream which, in modern accounts, appears variously as the Bjákos, Patiópulos, Chalkiópulos, or Sýndekno. This river falls into the Áspro fourteen kilomètres, i. e. eighty stades, north of Stratos[2]. It cannot possibly, therefore, be the Petitaros. Nor was this the river meant by Leake, for his river is 'less than two hours' above Stratos. Again, Prevéntza lies hard by the right bank of the Bjákos; but, according to Leake, Prevéntza, and therefore the Bjákos also, is the same distance north of the stream which he calls Petitaros, as the stream itself is north of Stratos. The Kriekúki stream occupies precisely this intermediate position[3]. And Leake's map proves that he was in no danger of confusing the river of Kriekúki with the Sýndekno (as he invariably calls the Bjákos)[4]. His remark that Prevéntza

[1] N. G. i. 141.

[2] More than 2½ hours, according to the usual estimate of 30 stades to the hour.

[3] Bursian, *Geogr.* i. 140, identifies the Petitaros with the modern Bjákos, and yet (*ibid. note* 2) says that Leake's river is at least two and a half hours above Stratos. Bursian is hopelessly confused about the two streams, and has transposed the names. On the other hand Bazin (*Mém.* p. 295) simply misinterprets Leake. But this setting up a man of straw and knocking him down is scarcely sufficient proof that the Petitaros must be sought *east* of the Acheloos.

[4] His only error lay in putting the confluence of the Sýndekno with the Áspro too far to the north. He was therefore obliged to refrain from indicating the *exact* position of Prevéntza, which he was aware lay

lies 'beyond the river' shows that he is speaking of the Kriekúki river. When he further says that Prevéntza is 'near the right bank,' he means the right bank of the Áspro, which expresses correctly the position of the village. Thus the Petitaros must be added to that long list of ancient names which the great traveller wedded each to its mate of river, mountain, and town, throughout Greece. The Zérvas was known to the ancient Aetolians as the Thestios[1].

On the top of the ridge overhanging the plain between the ancient and the modern Agrinion we find the remains of a fine round tower. It is now called Palaiópyrgos[2]. Only part of the tower still stands, the whole of the side towards the plain having been destroyed. It has an internal diameter of twenty-two feet. The stones are two and a half feet across, and two feet in depth, with a length varying from three to five feet. Naturally there is only one block in the thickness of the wall. Each stone is shaped to the curve. As the tower is now only four courses high, that is six or seven feet, it is impossible to say whether it was roofed or not. No tile-fragments, however, are visible; nor does the number of fallen blocks indicate that the building has ever been much higher than it stands to-day[3].

farther south than the place to which, for certain reasons, he assigned the Sýndekno. What were those reasons? I think that Leake was confused over the application of the name Tripótamo (Three rivers). In N. G. iv. 253, he says: 'the Mégdhova at no great distance below that junction (*sc.* with the Ágrapha river) falls into the Aspro, at a spot to which the union of a third stream from the mountain of Sýndekno to the westward gives the name of Tripótamo.' But the name really indicates the confluence of the combined Ágrapha and Agalianós rivers with the Áspro. The Sýndekno is much farther south, and has nothing to do with the name Tripótamo. As a consequence of his erroneous supposition that it formed one of the trio of rivers Leake was led to put the Sýndekno north of Kremastá (cf. *ibid.*), whereas it falls into the Aspro *south* of that point.

[1] This I surmise from the statement, in Plut. *De Fluv.* xxii. 1, that the Acheloos once bore the name Thestios. See p. 86, *note* 4. In early times the Zérvas may have been regarded as the main stream of the Acheloos; just as, according to Bursian (*Geogr.* i. 12, *note* 1), the Mégdhova—Agalianós was so regarded by Hekataios (*Frg.* 70–72), and by Sophokles (Strabo, p. 271).

[2] Παλαιόπυργος (Old Tower). It is one hour from Vrachóri, near the church of Haghía Panaghía Vlachérina.

[3] But I have not much confidence in this conclusion in this particular



PALAIOPYRGOS ; FROM THE NORTH.

In general appearance Palaiópyrgos reminds us strongly of the quadrangular redoubts of the Paracheloïtis. We remark the same smallness of dimensions, the same striking disproportion between the massiveness of the work and the limited area enclosed. The style of the masonry is identical with that of those forts; and here, as there, we see reason for suspecting that the structure had no great elevation. We can have no doubt as to the object of its builders when we look down upon the great plain cleft from north to south by the 'White River.' From ancient Agrinion and Stratos in the north-west, to Vlochós almost due east, the eye travels through an angle of more than two hundred degrees, while in the pure atmosphere every object in the vast expanse is marked with a clearness that shames the map in our hand. The ancient tower in which we stand to gaze upon this glorious panorama was designed as a post from which might be signalled the approach of an enemy from Akarnania.

The isolation of the tower, far removed as it is from any fortress, together with the fact that it is too small to have contained more than the merest handful of men, suggest a further question. To what town was this look-out station attached? It is true that its splendid situation fits it to be a national sentry-box, and that its signal of danger would put all Central Aetolia upon the alert. For example, the evacuation of the towns that fell into Philip's hands in his advance upon Thermon was possibly directly due to the warning beacon of Palaiópyrgos. Nevertheless, it becomes clear that the tower was erected for some more special purpose when we reflect that the akropolis heights of almost every city on the edge of the plain are only very slightly inferior to Palaiópyrgos as look-out stations. This is especially true of those most in danger from Akarnanian inroads, namely Konope and Lysimacheia. Yet there must have been some town especially interested in and dependent upon the information signalled from the tower.

That town was the kástro of Mavrovrú in the wilderness of hills north-east of Palaiópyrgos. It was quite impossible from that distant post to keep watch over the most remote

instance, as many blocks may have been broken up to provide material for the church. It is obvious that this objection cannot apply to the case on p. 192.

and at the same time most valuable part of the territory belonging to it; but, while the crops were growing and until they were safely housed, the sentinels stationed in the tower could swiftly signal to their townsmen the inpouring of Akarnanian marauders. The actual existence of the watch-tower, and our surmise that the domain of the Thestieis extended even into the central Aetolian basin[1], thus explain and support each other.

The ancient boundary stone on the banks of the upper Eremítsas has already been mentioned, and its information has been used in the discussion on the Aetolian tribes[2]. The point at which the stone is found lies to the south-east of the kástro of Mavrovrú. At the village of Skuterá, or New Sykiá[3], where are some unimportant vestiges of antiquity, the Eremítsas issues from a gorge. The path from Sykiá to Barlikéïka[4] and the villages at the base of Plokopári goes over the cliffs along the left bank of the river. About one hour from Sykiá we reach a blackened rock called Γρηᾶς ὁ φοῦρνος, the 'Old Woman's Oven.' Here, by the side of the track, lies a large natural block, about five feet square. The flat upper surface bears an inscription in deeply cut letters, five inches high, in three lines. Below this a few letters, only half that height, can still be deciphered. The whole of the lower part of the stone was originally inscribed, but the storms of twenty centuries have effaced the smaller and more shallow letters. A slight fracture has destroyed the final letter of the third line, but otherwise the stone is perfect. The inscription reads thus :—

Τέρμων
Εἰτεαίων
Ἐοιτάνω[ν.

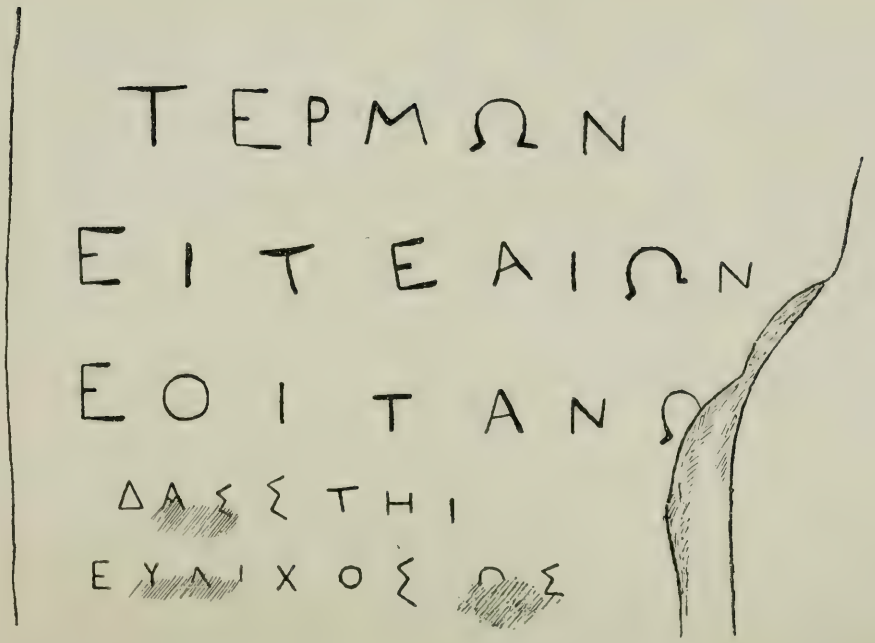
The legend that gives its name to the locality is perhaps worth the telling. The story of the peasants is of a certain

[1] See pp. 87, 173; cf. p. 57, *note* 1. [2] See p. 87.

[3] Σκουτερά. The remains to which I refer lie a quarter of an hour from the village, on the right bank of the river, just at the mouth of the gorge.

[4] Μπαρλικέϊκα. The ancient path must have been identical with that in use to-day. This explains the site chosen for the boundary record.

To face p. 181.



7. INSCRIPTION ON BOUNDARY STONE, EREMÍTSAS.

shepherdess, who, as the month of March drew to an end, exclaimed in glee:—'Good riddance, Old March! now my flock will be full of milk[1].' Thinking that winter was really past, she set out for the summer pastures on the hills, but being overtaken by a sudden storm she was compelled to creep for shelter to this cliff, and died there of cold and exposure as a punishment for her impiety. A curious custom has grown up round the place. Every passer-by casts at the foot of the cliff a stick for the old woman's fire. Her shivering ghost haunts the spot, and crouches over the flame that is raised from time to time by some mindful peasant when the pile of faggots grows high.

[1] *Πομπή σου γέρω Μάρτε· εὔγαλα τ' ἀρνοκάτσηκά μου.* Mr. W. Warde Fowler suggests a connexion with that numerous class of performances, found all over Europe, but especially common in Sclavonic countries, of which examples and explanations will be found in Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 254; ii. 208: Grimm, *Deut. Myth.* E. T. ii. 764 fol.: Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 297. Cf. the rite of *Mamurius Veturius* at Rome (Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 36; Varro L. L. vi. 45).

CHAPTER XIV.

Central Aetolia.

SITES ON THE NORTH OF LAKE TRICHONIS.

The singular beauty of Mount Viéna, as seen from the modern town of Agrinion, constantly attracts our gaze to the east. Its great pyramid is the very embodiment of the spirit of the Greek mountains. The description given of the Pamphylian hills by Mr. Fellows is equally true and good of those of Aetolia. 'I have never seen,' he writes [1], 'mountains so beautiful, so poetically beautiful. I remember seeing something of the same effect in those of Carrara from the Spezia road, and again in Greece; and in each case they were, as here, of marble. These mountains have a craggy, broken form, and a grey silvery colour which gives them a delicacy of beauty quite in contrast to the bold grandeur of the granite peaks of Switzerland, or the rich beauty of the sandy rocks of England.'

It is a pity that we are unacquainted with the name given by the ancient Aetolians to this greatest ornament of their land. Leake, Bazin, and many others, have imagined that it was called Panaitolion [2]. They base their conjecture upon a passage in which Pliny names a 'Panaetolium' among the mountains of Aetolia [3]. Pliny, however, is the only authority

[1] *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, p. 142.

[2] Leake, N. G. i. 131; iii. 512. Baz. *Mém.* p. 332. Bursian, *Geogr. Gr.* i. 124, *note* 1. Also Lolling, in Müller's *Handb.* p. 138, where he rightly corrects the error of the modern Greeks, who apply the name Panaitolion to the hill of Vlochós itself.

[3] Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 2: Montes clari . . . in Aetolia Acanthon Panaetolium Macynium. Arakynthos he puts into Akarnania. Such testimony is worth nothing.

for the use of that word as the name of a mountain. By Livy it is employed to signify the Federal Assembly [1]. The view of Leake and Bazin depends partly also upon their assumption that Thermon, the meeting-place of the League, is to be identified with Vlochós. They suppose that Panaitolion, the name of the Assembly, was transferred to the place of meeting, and then to the mountain which was the most conspicuous object there. Yet, even so, it is difficult to see why Mount Viéna, rather than the hill of Vlochós itself, should have gained the title Panaitolion. For, wherever we locate Thermon, it yet remains a fact that Mount Viéna must have been entirely unconnected with the Federal Assemblies. We must be content, then, to remain in ignorance of the ancient name of the mountain [2].

Isolated in the mid-space between Agrinion and Mount Viéna, an exceedingly curious hill stands up conspicuously against the dark sides of its huge eastern neighbour. This is the hill of Vlochós [3], on which are found some of the most striking ruins in the country. The hill consists of a series of platforms piled one above the other,—not horizontally, but with a slight upward tilt northwards,—and diminishing in size from the lowest. As viewed from Agrinion it presents its longer side to the spectator. In comparison with its length the breadth of the hill is very small, so that, seen 'end on,' the picture is that of a natural rock-castle rising from the midst of an elevated platform crowning the ridge. Whatever our point of view, the hill of Vlochós is the most conspicuous feature in the scene, with the exception of the mass of Mount Viéna itself. This predominance and natural force of character have not been without their effect; it is to them entirely that Vlochós owes its overwhelming importance in all discussions on the topography of Central Aetolia. Almost unconsciously we frame the belief that the weirdly shaped peak must mark the site of the ancient capital; unbidden there rises to our lips the striking phrase in which Polybios paints the natural strength of Thermon [4].

[1] Livy, xxxi. 29: Concilium Aetolorum, quod Panaetolium vocant.

[2] But, for a conjecture, see Appendix I, *Oreia.*

[3] Βλωχός.

[4] Pol. v. 8: *εἶναί τε τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτος ὥστε τῆς συμπάσης Αἰτωλίας οἷον ἀκροπόλεως ἔχειν τάξιν.*

In order to reach Vlochós from Vrachóri we go eastwards over the plateau at the foot of the Lykorákia. In three quarters of an hour we strike the Eremítsas, at the point at which it issues from a ravine between the base of the hill of Vlochós and the heights behind Vrachóri. The ford is marked, as in Leake's time, by a mill. The bed of the river, after its escape from the gorge, is a wide gravelly belt sunk in the eastern side of a similar but much wider depression that perhaps marks a former channel. Even in summer the Eremítsas is of respectable size in the upper part of its course: lower down it disappears, reaching its natural goal, —the lake of Anghelókastron,—only in winter. Leake suggests that its modern name is a corruption derived from the name Thermon[1]. Pouqueville, in fact, always speaks of the river as the Thermissos[2]; this, or Themissós, seems to be a real variant, although it is probably only a corruption of the genuine title Eremítsas[3] aided by the supposed connexion with Thermon.

After fording the river we cross a ridge and a ravine, and then climb the western side of a steep hill running north and south. At the top of it are the precipices of the lower platform of Vlochós. The slope is littered with huge boulders, which have fallen from the cliffs. The path takes us to the southern extremity of the platform, to the ruins of an ancient Hellenic gateway through which we pass to an oval level space, the end of the platform itself, bordered by steep rocks on all sides except at the point at which we ascend. On this tiny plateau stand the monastery and church of Our Lady of Vlochós[4]. A few fine trees conspicuous and solitary on the height shade the church and cell, which is tenanted by a single monk.

From the level of the monastery we can pass along the western side of the hill to a corresponding level space at its northern end. On the right of the path tower the cliffs constituting the summit of the hill; on the left is a short boulder-covered slope, below which are the still more lofty precipices

[1] N. G. i. 126.

[2] *Voy.* iii. 511: 'la Thermisse.'

[3] In the popular pronunciation (*χυδαϊκῶς*) the name loses its second syllable. Hence, we find Leake writing Ermítza.

[4] Ἡ *Παναγία τοῦ* Βλωχοῦ. The monastery was in a flourishing condition in Leake's time.

of the lower terrace upon which we stand. The northern end of the platform sinks suddenly to the ridge below, which extends for about the third of a mile farther northwards and then falls abruptly to the Eremítsas. We cannot make a complete circuit of the hill, as on the east there is no narrow ledge along the side like that on the west. It is thus impossible to reach the northern end of the platform by any other road than by that which starts from the monastery. It is equally impossible to make our way to the uppermost platform, or summit of the hill, except by retracing our steps to the monastery and then taking the narrow secret path that winds round the southern end of the height and for a short distance along the face of the crags. We thus finally reach the summit,—a bare platform over two thousand feet above the level of the sea. Leake describes it as being '200 yards long and 30 broad, similar in shape to the entire summit[1] of which it constitutes about a fourth part; and thus forming a sort of keep to this natural castle; its precipices on the further side from the monastery are a continuation with an increased height of those on the eastern side of the entire hill. The summit of Ogla is level and carpeted, like the larger summit, with a delicate herbage[2].' We need only add that it rises gently towards the northern end, where it consists of flat rocks.

The prospect from this lofty position is one that must have caused an Aetolian's heart to swell with pride, as his eye travelled round the wide circle of lands attached to the League. The view comprehends the serrated mass of Djumérka in the north beyond Árta, and the peak of Chelmós in the Morea,—points distant from each other a hundred miles in a straight line. To the right of Djumérka the bare summits of Ágrapha mark the country of the Dolo-

[1] By the expression 'entire summit' Leake means the whole hill of Vlochós, which in shape is a long oval, with its longer axis lying N. and S. He also speaks of it as the 'entire hill' in the passage quoted. By the 'larger summit' he means the lower platform, on the S. end of which the monastery is built. The uppermost platform, which I speak of as 'the summit,' is also an oval in shape: this is the part called 'the summit of Ogla' by Leake.

[2] N. G. i. 131. Ogla, the name that Leake gives to the summit, seems to be now extinct. I found no one that remembered it. Did Leake's ears deceive him?

pians, whose mountains could not save them from absorption by the League. The ramifications of Pindos hide from sight the Thessalian plains, a prey in turn to Aetolian and Macedonian. On the east the view is restricted by Araboképhalon and the Krávari mountains. On the west, beyond the Acheloos, are outspread the plains, lakes, and mountains of Akarnania, as far as Ambrakia: both Akarnania and Ambrakia were Aetolian possessions. In the south-west, over the Zygós, we see the submerged mountain constituting the island of Kephallenia, whose ships were ever at the service of Aetolian corsairs [1]. Rising above the hills of the Apókuro are Varássova, Klókova, and the lofty pyramid of Rhígani: beyond them lay the country of the Ozolian Lokrians, reduced to the condition of an Aetolian province. The dim forms of Ólonos, Voïdhiá, and Chelmós, on the southern horizon, recall the Arkadian cities belonging to the Federation,—recall also the bitter hostility of the rival Achaian League. The centre of the vast panorama is the plain at our feet, with its lakes, its green slopes, its gardens and villages, a picture framed by the Zygós; in complete contrast to the hill country immediately north of Vlochós and Vrachóri, in which direction we seek in vain for any sign of cultivation.

Deep depressions surround the mountain on every side except on the south. On the west, running parallel with the hill of Vlochós, and separated from the Eremítsas by a short ridge, there flows a small stream, which, after passing the extremity of the ridge, joins the main river. The Eremítsas then makes a sweep to the south-west, to the lake of Anghelókastron. On the east, also, in the bottom of the deep valley between Vlochós and Viéna, a stream runs down to Lake Trichonis, falling into it a little distance west of Paravóla, whose hill and village apparently quite close the narrow passage between Viéna and the water. The steep sides of the eastern valley are covered with fields of grain; whereas the slopes on the west of Vlochós, and those on the far side of the Eremítsas, are clad only with the many varieties of sweet-scented shrub found in Greece.

It will be gathered from this description that Nature has contributed much more than has the hand of man to the

[1] Pol. v. 3.



GREAT GATE OF VLOCHOS; FROM WITHOUT. PART OF MOUNT VIENA IN THE DISTANCE.

defence of Vlochós. The akropolis in ancient times must have been absolutely impregnable, for it can only be approached by means of the narrow and somewhat perilous path along the face of the rock. The lower town would lie in the bosom of the hill, with a southern aspect; the modern village of Vlochós, the houses of which are pleasantly dispersed among cornfields and groves of olive, pear, walnut, and mulberry trees, occupies almost the centre of the ancient site. As Leake has pointed out[1], the hill of Vlochós is a good illustration of the kind of site considered most advantageous by the Greeks:—'namely, a triangle on the slope of a pyramidal hill, bordered on either side by a torrent flowing in a deep ravine, and having a summit convenient for an acropolis. The citadel was generally the apex of the triangle, and often itself, therefore, of a triangular form, but when the summit of the hill was level, the citadel was sometimes oval. . . . In the instance of Vlokhó the ground was formed by nature for an oval acropolis.'

The entire circuit of the town must have been about two miles, or two and a half; but the walls are not traceable throughout that extent. That on the east has, in fact, quite disappeared, with the exception of a few blocks near its south-eastern angle. Leake suggests[2] that, as the fall on this side is more abrupt than elsewhere, there was not so much necessity for defences of the massive character seen in other parts of the site, and that the materials, as they fell, may have rolled into the ravine. The line of the southern wall also is much ruined, except towards the west; but its course over the spurs of the akropolis hill is easily followed. The third side of the triangle is in a much better state of preservation, standing in some places to a height of six courses. It runs from the end of the akropolis in a south-westerly direction along the crest of the ridge. The system of defence adopted is not that of towers and curtains; we have instead a continuous series of short flanks, exactly like modern lines '*en crémaillère*.' The kástro of Vlochós is a unique example in Aetolia of this early method.

Three gates are still recognizable,—two of them in the western wall. The ruins of the first are on the path by which we gain access to the monastery. Two parallel walls,

[1] N. G. i. 133. [2] *Ibid.* i. 134.

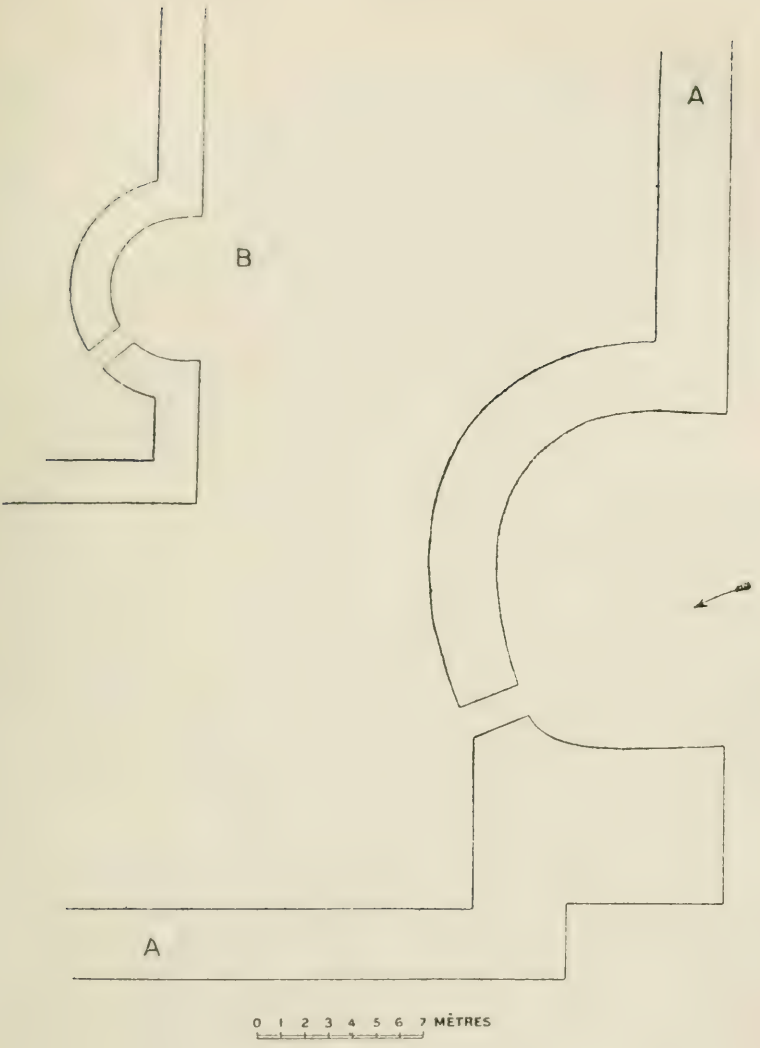
eight feet apart, form a passage about sixteen feet in length. This is all that remains, but it suffices to prove that the gateway was of an early type. The second gate lies some way farther down towards the south-west; it is nothing but a simple aperture in the wall. The third gate is one of the most curious in Aetolia. We find it in the southern wall, close to the south-western angle of the enceinte. It consists of a semicircular retiring of the wall, fifteen yards in diameter. The opening is pierced, not in the centre of the arc, but to the left, i.e. towards the western wall. 'The semicircle had the same intention as the square court which is sometimes found before the gates of Hellenic cities; in the present instance it not only admitted of a concentration of missiles, particularly on the right or unshielded side of the enemy, but exposed him, when he had reached the gate, to the reverse of the western wall[1].' We found something analogous in the fortifications of Chalkis[2]; but there we had not so much a semicircular gateway as a gateway in a semicircular wall, the lines of which were due to the accidents of the ground rather than to deliberate design on the part of the builders, though it would require a more detailed examination to enable us to speak with certainty on this latter point. As applied to the plan of the gate itself, and in this particular form, this ingenious mode of defence is illustrated, in Aetolia at least, by the solitary example at Vlochós.

The town wall, from six to eight feet thick, is built in an unequal style. In some places the courses are nearly regular, though the joints remain oblique; in others the masonry is exceedingly irregular, approaching the 'true polygonal' style. In some parts, again, enormous blocks are employed, as for instance just below the monastery; but in general they are of medium size, although some portions of the wall show a combination of very large and very small stones. These irregularities seem, upon the whole, due to an attempt to render the enceinte as strong and as solid as possible, using at the particular place and moment the materials readiest to hand, without regard to any canons of style. This opportunism of construction is not to be reconciled with a late date[3].

[1] Leake, N. G. i. 135.

[2] See p. 110.

[3] Late, that is, within the limits assigned to genuine Hellenic work.



8. VLOCHÓS. SOUTH-WEST GATEWAY.

AA. TOWN WALL.

B. SKETCH PLAN OF SAME, FROM LEAKE.

To face p. 188.

Within the enclosure, and upon the plateau of the akropolis, we search in vain for vestiges of antiquity[1]. Only the walls built in the lusty youth of the world remain to bear witness that on the hill of Vlochós stood one of the greatest cities of Aetolia. In the Middle Ages the site retained its importance. Vlochós was one of the towns that remained faithful to Andronikos III in 1339, when Nikephoros II took from him part of Aetolia. For Bazin[2] is probably right in taking the fortress Eulochos, mentioned in connexion with that episode, to have been the hill of Vlochós[3]. In more recent days the Turks, and after them the Greeks, took refuge in the kástro, and their defensive works may be traced within the enceinte.

Can we make any conjecture as to the ancient name of this remarkable site? It will be remembered that we have seen reason for assigning to the Thestieis the whole tract of country between the river Zérvas and Mount Viéna[4]. The Thestieis appear to have been split up into two subdivisions, known as the Eiteaioi and the Eoitanes, who were separated from each other by the line of the Eremítsas. The capital of the one section was the kástro of Mavrovrú: that of the other was the kástro of Vlochós. Speaking according to the relative importance of the two kástra, we may say, therefore, that the kástro of Vlochós was the chief

It is, of course, obvious that we could not attribute the walls to the period in which what I have called 'opportunism' again prevailed, the opportunism of a decaying, as opposed to that of a growing, art.

[1] Cf. Leake, N. G. i. 135: 'The only remains of a public edifice within the walls of this capital ... is a square pyramidal shapeless mass of stones, on a line with the cottages of upper Vlokhó, near the western wall. I inquired in vain for medals, or other remains of antiquity.' I did not see the remains here mentioned: but the passage had escaped my memory, so that I did not definitely search for them.

[2] *Mém.* p. 333. Leake, N. G. i. 133, says that the name is of Sclavonic origin.

[3] Cf. Cantacuz. ii. 34: Ἀγγελόκαστρον, Ἰωάννινα, Εὔλοχὸς καὶ τὸ Βάλτον καὶ ἕτερ' ἄττα φρούρια οὐκ ὀλίγα. See Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, iii. 431; iv. 128. The suggestion that Eulochos is Vlochós appears in Heuzey's *Acarnanie*. He also identifies Valton with the akropolis of Karvassarás (anc. Limnaia?), which was certainly strongly occupied in the Middle Ages. It must be confessed that it is strange to find at Vlochós scarcely any trace of occupation during the Middle Ages.

[4] See p. 86.

town of the Thestieis. The reason why Polybios did not employ the name of the town in defining the Macedonian route through the plain in 218 B.C. has already been given[1]. The town lay too distant from the line of march, and less violence was done to language by simply using the name of the tribe itself. Or, some may be inclined to maintain that the name of the tribe was also the name of the town,—that the section dwelling east of the Eremítsas arrogated to their capital the general tribal name of Thestieis, which they shared with their brethren on the west of the river[2].

We have already mentioned the village of Paravóla which is visible to the south-east from Vlochós. It marks the limit of Leake's Aetolian explorations in this direction. We reach it in one hour and a half from the village of Vlochós; or in two hours, reckoning from the monastery. Its full name, Ligostianoparavóla[3], denotes that its metropolis, using that word in its ancient sense[4], is the village of Ligostiána[5] on the slopes of Viéna. Now that internal peace is secured, this migration to lower situations is a universal phenomenon in modern Greece; hygienic considerations tend, however, sometimes to counteract the impulse. In Leake's time Paravóla did not exist; instead of it we find the name Kúvelos[6], both in his *Travels* and in Bazin's *Mémoire*. The name Kúvelos, however, belonged to a Turkish *tjiftlik*, or *zevgalatía*, situated on the plain between the modern village and the lake[7]. It is now represented only by the ruins of its khan and pýrgo, and its name is passing into oblivion.

The kástro hill is a small oak-covered height immediately east of Paravóla. It rises just at the foot of a well-wooded spur of Mount Viéna, so that a narrow passage is all that is left between them: this passage is entirely taken up by the houses of the village and the modern highway. On the opposite side of the kástro hill, the plain, covered with

[1] See p. 87.

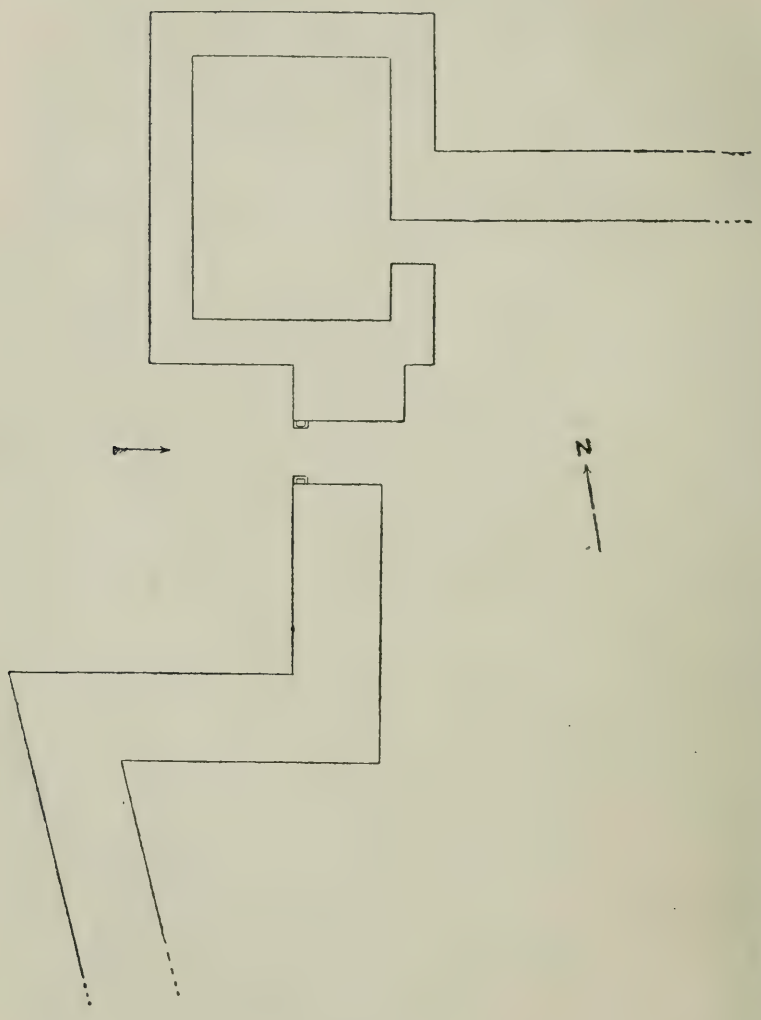
[2] Or was its name possibly the Thystion mentioned by Harpokration? See Appendix I, *Θύστιον*.

[3] *Λιγοστιανοπαραβόλα.*

[4] A sense familiar to the Greek peasant of to-day. Most Greek villages have a pedigree. Cf. Kephalóvryson, p. 203.

[5] *Λιγοστιάνα, Λιγόστιανα.* [6] *Κούβελος.*

[7] Leake, N. G. i. 126. Bazin, *Mém.* p. 327.



9. PARAVÓLA. WEST GATEWAY.

Scale, $\frac{1}{3}'' = 1^{m}$.

To face p. 191.

vineyards and maize fields, extends for half a mile to Lake Trichonis.

Nearly the whole line of the enceinte, which is less than a mile in circumference, is preserved: three courses is the general height of the wall, but in some parts it stands practically in its original condition. The north-eastern summit of the hill forms a small oval akropolis, about one hundred yards in length from east to west. Its exterior wall is broken into a series of irregular salients as it follows the configuration of the hill. On the southern side, facing the ancient town, it had a plain double-faced wall, now all but entirely destroyed. The entrance of the akropolis is at its western end, where we find two round towers of small stones and mortar, the work of the Byzantine epoch, or perhaps of a date still later. They stand, however, on the lower courses of two Hellenic semicircular towers, between which the ancient gateway was placed, although the gateway actually existing lies just to the south of the towers. The interior of the citadel is now a graveyard; near its eastern end, quite close to the wall, there stands a modern church dedicated to the Theotókos, i.e. the Virgin.

The wall of the lower town runs from the north-western corner of the akropolis along the crest of the hill westwards: the two round towers guarding the entrance of the citadel thus lie on the inside of the outer wall. Between the point at which it leaves the akropolis and that at which it turns to run down the hill in the direction of the lake, the northern face of the enceinte is flanked with three square towers, of which the two towards the west guard each an entrance through the wall. In both cases the opening is, of course, pierced immediately east of its protecting tower. The smaller of the two openings is that lying most to the west. It is merely a four-foot breach in the enceinte, which at that point is twelve feet thick. The gateway near the next tower to the east is of some importance. The opening is thirteen feet wide, but as compensation the breadth of the wall through which it is cut is enormously increased; it is, in fact, more than sixteen feet thick. At the outer end of the passage the exterior face of the wall projects on each side in such a way as to reduce the width of the entrance by two feet eight inches. One of the blocks hollowed for the

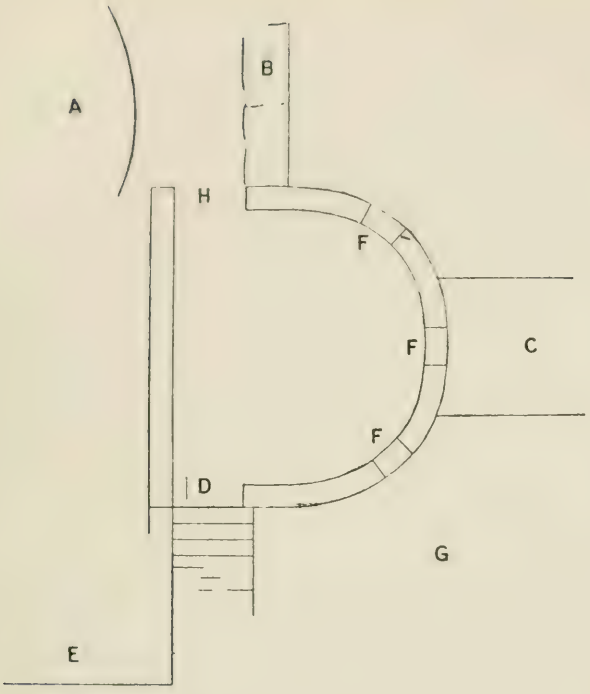
reception of the gate post is still *in situ* against the face of one of the projections[1]. At the western end of the ridge the wall turns southwards, and just at the angle we find a third gateway. Its defences are somewhat elaborate, but square towers only are employed. At each side of the passage, which is a little over six feet wide, we still find the quadrangular block with sinking for the gate post.

From this gateway, the wall, as it descends the slope, is more and more ruined, until it disappears almost entirely along the southern foot of the hill, where it served in modern times as a quarry for the builders of Kúvelos. We find it again towards the east running northwards up the slope in a series of short flanks, with here and there square towers. When it has reached the backbone of the ridge it turns to the west, and finally joins the eastern end of the akropolis enclosure. In this last part of its course the wall is well preserved, rising at the last square tower below the akropolis to a height of fifteen courses.

The most interesting feature of the rúins occurs at the point at which the lower enceinte joins the eastern end of the citadel wall. It is a semicircular tower, which serves as a centre from which three lines of wall radiate, viz. the lower town wall on the east, and the northern and southern walls of the akropolis. As the first of these springs from the centre of the curve, the tower looks down upon and enfilades the entire line running eastwards. The tower is twenty courses, or about thirty feet, high; but at the point at which the flanks engage with the akropolis walls it is reduced to less than half that height, owing to the elevation of the citadel plateau above the ground at its foot. Entrance into the tower is gained from the level of the citadel, so that the entire lower part of the structure is simply a solid mass of earth and stones. Within the tower we notice an oblique line of cuttings[2] in the blocks of its southern flank: these were evidently designed for the reception of wooden

[1] Although all trace of the upper part of the gateway has disappeared, it appears probable that it was an example of the mode so common in Akarnania, in which an arched façade conceals a covering of flat slabs. The arch of the façade may be true or false. Lastly, in some few cases the passage may be vaulted. See Heuzey, *L'Acarnanie. passim.*

[2] Apparently nine in number.



10. PARAVÓLA. SEMI-CIRCULAR TOWER.

Scale, $\frac{1}{2}'' = 1^{m}$.

A. APSE OF MODERN CHURCH OF THE VIRGIN.
B. OUTER WALL OF AKROPOLIS.
C. OUTER WALL OF LOWER TOWN.
D. DOORWAY AND STEPS LEADING INTO LOWER TOWN.
E. INNER WALL OF AKROPOLIS.
F. WINDOWS IN TOWER.
G. LOWER TOWN.
H. DOORWAY LEADING INTO TOWER FROM THE AKROPOLIS.

To face p. 192.



SEMI-CIRCULAR TOWER AT PARAVOLA; FROM THE NORTH.

steps. We are thus led to inquire into the arrangement of the upper storey, if such existed. We see that the walls of the tower stand to precisely the same height all round, an almost certain indication that they never rose higher than is at present the case. Mounting to the top, we find that some of the stones of the uppermost course are cut obliquely in order to receive beams, so that we must conclude that there existed only a wooden roof, or platform, to which the stair gave access. In the curve of the tower there are three windows, averaging two feet eight inches in width; they narrow slightly towards the top[1]. The doorway, which opens, as above described, upon the akropolis, is five feet wide. A similar doorway in the southern flank of the tower communicates, by means of a flight of steps, with the lower city; but the steps, which were of stone, are now destroyed.

Bazin attempts to prove from the style of the masonry that the semicircular tower was a later addition to the defences[2]. He draws this conclusion from the fact that it is composed of stones somewhat smaller than those in the rest of the fortifications. It is true that, as compared with the outer face of the enceinte, the tower shows a distinct difference in its masonry; but if we compare together the outer and inner faces themselves of the enceinte we find precisely the same difference,—the outer face is composed of larger blocks than is the rule with the inner face. The reason for the difference is obvious. The outer face of the wall had to bear the brunt of the attack, and was therefore built in a stronger and larger manner. Precisely the same reason accounts for the smaller scale of the masonry in the walls of the tower. There is thus no proof that the tower is of later date than the rest of the fortifications, or that it was added in order to strengthen the citadel. Even in the absence of the tower, the re-entrant angle formed by the end of the citadel and the main wall of the town is the strongest point in the lines, and the one least exposed to attack. The two walls flanking each other, together with the steep fall of the ground outwards from the angle, rendered it un-

[1] The base of the windows stands five feet above the present level of the ground within the tower. Their height is three feet seven inches.

[2] *Mém.* p. 328: 'et l'on est tenté d'y voir un ouvrage ajouté postérieurement à l'acropole pour en augmenter la force.'

assailable by the methods in use in ancient times. To what end then should a breach have been made at the point of junction in order to erect the existing tower?

The tower is an integral part of the original scheme; but its *raison d'être* is not that of a strictly defensive work[1]. It was built to serve as a watch-tower for the guard of the citadel; from its roof there is a view for miles along the shore of the lake in both directions[2], so that long before an enemy could possibly reach the town every precaution for defence or evacuation would have been completed. Placed as it is, at the angle formed by the meeting of the three walls, it was not exposed to assault, so that its structure could safely be in the less massive style appropriate to the interior face of the curtain: and, owing to its natural elevation, this position at the angle is the only one that allows an uninterrupted view to east and west.

The wall encircling the northern side of the akropolis plateau is composed, near the round tower, of fine 'irregular Hellenic' work, nine courses high, some of the blocks being of remarkable size. Suddenly we find the wall continuing in 'regular polygonal,' equal to the finest specimens of that style to be seen in Akarnanian ruins. This goes on round the citadel, reaching in places a height of ten feet, but it is found nowhere else on the site; nor indeed can we produce any other certain Aetolian example of the style[3].

[1] This is clear from the feebleness of its saillie. The tower can hardly be said to flank any particular wall effectively.

[2] The peaked hill of Anghelókastron is dimly visible in the W. from the summit of the tower. The modern church now greatly interferes with the prospect. A good outlook was essential if this kástro was a border fortress on the confines of the Thestieis dwelling in the hills about Vlochós. Of course, during the period in which the League was a factor in Hellenic history inter-tribal feuds were a thing of the past; and so also was the fear of Akarnanian invasion. To this we must attribute the comparative rarity of late work in Aetolian fortifications,—I mean by way of repair and improvement. The towns in which such work is historically attested (Konope-Arsinoe, Lysimacheia, &c.) are too much ruined to display its characteristics very clearly,—which fact, again, is explicable by reference to their strategic, i. e. historical, importance. Contrast the case of New Pleuron: cf. p. 127.

[3] Such anomalies require explanation, though as yet it is hard to convince even scholars that they are worth notice. Explanation cannot, of course, be attempted here.



INTERIOR FACE OF TOWN WALL AT PARAVOLA; FROM THE SOUTH.

On a site presenting so many unique features,—one that in point of importance as an example of Aetolian fortification stands second only to that of New Pleuron,—it is disappointing not to find anything to supplement the story told by the walls. Tombs are indeed to be discovered along the southern foot of the hill, but so far they have not yielded much of value. A single late inscription is the only find reported by the villagers. It is on a thin slab of white marble, broken in three pieces, but otherwise perfect. It reads:—

ΕΥΠΟΡΟϹ	*Εὔπορος*
ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΥΑΠ	*Ἐπινίκου ἀπ-*
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟϹ	*ελεύθερος*
ΕΤΩΝ ΝΕ	*ἐτῶν νε΄.*
ΧΑΙΡΕ	*χαῖρε.*

We are thus left in the dark as to the ancient name of the town. Yet the kástro of Paravóla, as guarding the entrance of the defiles leading along the northern shore of the lake, must have enjoyed something more than a moderate reputation among the Aetolian fortresses. Even in recent times its importance in this respect has been exemplified. Modern conjecture has assigned a great variety of names to the site. Bursian[1] suggests that it was the capital of the Thestieis: but that involves leaving the kástro of Vlochós anonymous. Leake[2] and Becker[3] call it Phytaion. Fiedler[4], who speaks of the ruins under the name of Genúrio[5], identifies them with the ancient Metapa. The identification of the town as either Phytaion or Metapa, however, is based upon false assumptions as to the line of Philip's march into Central Aetolia and the position of the capital of the League. They will receive correction

[1] *Geogr.* i. 138, *note* 3. So Lolling.

[2] N. G. i. 155. [3] *Diss.* i. 31.

[4] *Reise.* i. 181. He calls the hill 'ein steiler felsiger Berg.' We might imagine, from his saying that it was on the left hand as he went to Prostovás, that he had confused it in his notes with the hill of Vlochós, which he does not otherwise mention. But the old road lay *south* of the modern highway, and passed through Kúvelos.

[5] i. e. Καινούριον, a village half an hour west of Paravóla, and capital of the modern Deme of Thermos.

when we come to criticize the various views that have been held with reference to that episode. Bazin suggests[1] that the place was called Boukation, a name mentioned only in an inscription found in the neighbouring ruins at Kryonerú. This is the most satisfactory identification hitherto proposed; in the present state of our knowledge it is the only one possible, but beyond that no more can be said either for or against it.

Proceeding eastwards from Paravóla, in a quarter of an hour we cross the stony and in summer quite dry bed of the torrent Xeriás, which descends from the gorge of Zakónina[2] in Mount Viéna. Then, after passing through the poor hamlet of Mandánista[2], we reach, in forty minutes from Paravóla, a tiny church dedicated to Hághios Nikólaos. The road at this point is only a few yards distant from the lake, the waters of which dash continually on the pebbly beach at the foot of the plane trees. Close to the water's edge, hidden under the trees, is the khan of Dhogrí[3], famous for its cool shade and pure cold water. It was here that the Greeks of the Apókuro, under Sadhímas and Theodore Grívas, bivouacked before surrounding the Turks of Agrinion in 1821[4]. The spring pours forth a copious flood of icy water within two or three feet of the margin of the lake. A few ancient wrought blocks with cramp-marks lie near it, and seem to indicate that the fame of the place goes back to the Hellenic period. It is possible, however, that they have been dragged from the kástro of Soboníkos[5].

That kástro lies three quarters of a mile to the eastward, where a spur of Viéna approaches the lake and falls steeply into the water. The projection bears the ruins of an Hellenic polis, now known as the Kástro of Soboníkos, or the Vareiá Soboníku[6], from the village of that name situated farther up the slope of the mountain. The fortifications can be traced through nearly the whole extent of

[1] *Mém.* p. 339.

[2] Ζακώνινα. Μαντάνιστα, Μανδάνισα.

[3] Δογρί. So Trikúpis writes the name: the local pronunciation is somewhat different.

[4] Cf. Trik. i. 300.

[5] Σομπονίκος.

[6] Βαρειὰ Σομπονίκου.

their development, but they are most satisfactorily preserved in the north, north-west, and west, where at some points they stand eight courses high. At the northern end of the site, close to the interior face of the wall, we find a mass of remains of the Byzantine epoch,—cisterns, churches, and such like. The ancient wall has also been patched in this part to serve as a defence. Square towers flank it at intervals. The style of masonry bears no resemblance to that of Paravóla or Vlochós; it is that somewhat striking variety of 'irregular Hellenic' which we found at Chalkis[1], having fairly regular courses, but oblique joints, with blocks tending to squareness. The effect produced by this combination is quite different from that of the true 'irregular Hellenic' work, which we get, for example, at New Pleuron. A point of importance in connexion with this kástro is its situation. It is the complement of the fortress at Paravóla[2]; each commands a narrow pass at the end of the small plain intervening between Mount Viéna and the lake. An enemy too weak to force the positions in succession would find the road to the east or west hopelessly barred in his face: the lake on the one side, on the other the heights of Araboképhalon, would form insuperable obstacles.

The slopes of Mount Viéna to the north of Soboníkos contain numerous traces of ancient foundations, most of them apparently of a religious character. The nearest of them lies twenty minutes below the village of Soboníkos, on the rough path that descends the mountain and strikes the plain near a deserted Metóchi of the Prossós monastery. In the other direction this path takes us to Prostovás, and so over the ridge into the ravine of the Vasilikó river, and finally to Karpenísi by way of Prossós. Below Soboníkos the track skirts the torrent separating the kástro ridge from the main heights of Viéna. Here a modern terrace-wall in the tobacco-fields near the path is largely composed of fair rectangular blocks, beautifully dressed, and weathered

[1] See p. 109. Cf. the kástro of Kephalóvryson.

[2] That was the relation between the two fortresses during the historical period, after the units of the Aetolian name had been welded together in a Federation. Previously, their relations may have been of a purely hostile character, if Paravóla was the border fortress of the Thestieis, and Soboníkos of the Eurytanes. But how the two are related, chronologically, we are unable as yet to say definitely.

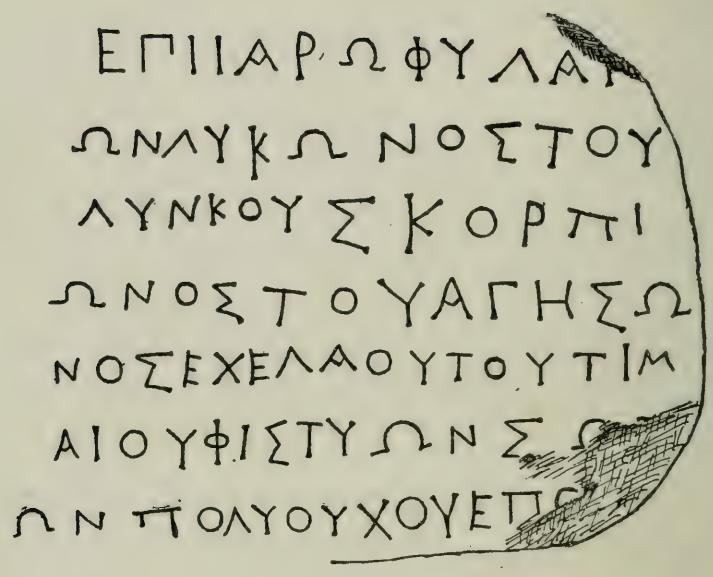
to the golden colour characteristic of Pentelic marble. They have a chisel draft along the two sides and one end, and certainly come from an ancient temple. In material and workmanship the stones remind us of those of the temple at Stratos, recently excavated by the French[1]. Nothing like them is to be found elsewhere within the limits of Aetolia proper. Unfortunately this is all that can be said of these remains, for not a single block stands *in situ*, nor do any antiquities seem to have been discovered by the peasants to indicate more clearly the nature of the building.

Other ruins showing a similar superiority in style to that of the general run of Aetolian buildings are to be seen in the village of Soboníkos itself. They exhibit large quadrangular blocks, with sinkings for cramps of both ⊢⊣ and ⌐¬ form. The stones have been used for more modern buildings, which have themselves fallen into decay. The only inscription found is cut in clear and elaborate letters, with apices[2], on a block measuring three feet by two, serving as the Ἁγία Τράπεζα or Holy Table in the apse of a small church of the Holy Apostles: its find-spot is forgotten. The inscription, which is popularly supposed to be in Latin, reads as follows:—

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΙΑΤΟΣ
ΑΙΣΣΧΡΙΩΝΟΣ
ΕΤΩΝ $\overline{\text{ΚΖ}}$ ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΣΤΡΑΤΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΙΑΤΟΥ
ΕΤΩΝ $\overline{\text{ΝΕ}}$ ΧΑΙΡΕ ΔΙΚΕΟΠΟΛΙΣ
ΛΥΚΙΔΑ ΕΤΩΝ ΚΖ ΧΑΙΡΕ

Καλλιστιατὸς
Αἰσσχρίωνος,
ἐτῶν κζ΄ . Χαῖρε.
Στρατὼ Καλλιστιατοῦ,
ἐτῶν νέ . Χαῖρε. Δικεόπολις
Λυκίδα, ἐτῶν κζ΄ . Χαῖρε.

[1] A temple of Zeus. See *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xvii. p. 445.
[2] Letters 1½ inches high: eleventh word only 1″ high.



II. INSCRIPTION FROM KRYONERÚ.

To face p. 199.

About half an hour farther up the mountain, north-west of Sobonikos, there is a village Kryonerú[1]. A few minutes south-east of the village, on the path by which we approach it from the east or south, stands the church of the Holy Trinity, at the southern foot of a rocky eminence, just above a tiny spring. A pleasant grove of large plane trees shades the fountain, and makes a welcome contrast with the bare stony wilderness of hills and ravines over which we are wandering. A few ancient blocks lie near the spring, suggesting that we are upon an ancient site; a careful search reveals also the existence of a few inscribed stones of the highest interest embedded in the walls of the church. The building now standing on the site dates only from 1890; it is the hideous successor of one that collapsed a few years ago on the same spot from sheer old age[2]. The inscriptions are the survivors of those which were walled into the older church: the peasants are proud to confess that many others were found,—and destroyed,—in digging the new foundations.

Both Bazin and Dr. Lolling published inscriptions from the site. That copied by the latter traveller[3] is on a slab of soft grey sandstone, eighteen inches long, now walled end upwards in the exterior of the southern side of the apse. It is much weather-worn, but unbroken, and still with difficulty decipherable; in a few years all trace of lettering will have disappeared. It reads as follows:—

Ἐπὶ ἱαρωφυλάκ-
ων Λύκωνος τοῦ
Λύνκου, Σκορπι-
ῶνος τοῦ Ἀγήσω-
νος, Ἐχελάου τοῦ Τιμ-
αίου, Φιστυῶν. Σώ[τ-
ων Πολυούχου ἐπό[ησεν.

The stone, as Dr. Lolling remarks, originally formed the basis of a statue. Commenting on the inscription he also

[1] Κρυονερού, the village of 'cold water.' This, and Kephalóvryson, is a usual name for a village with a perennial water-supply.

[2] The old church was described as having possessed a wealth of paintings. In any case its destruction is to be regretted.

[3] *Ath. Mitth.* iv. 220.

draws attention to the number of personal names contained in it derived from animals, and he reminds us that we are already in Eurytania.

The inscription given by Bazin is of greater importance. According to his copy, it runs as follows[1]:—

Ἀγαθᾶι [Τύχαι· στραταγέοντο]ς Ε[2]
Τριχονέος, μ[ηνὸς. ἀρχόντ]ων δὲ ἐπὶ πόλιος ἐν Φιστυῶι
Νικολεύ[ω]νος Νικιά[δα] Ξένωνος Φιστυῶν, θεοκολευού-
σας Ἀλκήστιος, ἀπέδοτο Λύκος Λυρίσβου[3] *Ἀρσινοεὺς*
Ἀφροδίται Συρίαι Φιστυίδι σῶμα ἀνδρῆον ὃι ὄνομα Σγᾶ-
ρος[4]*, τὸ γένος οἰκογενές*[5]*, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι, τιμᾶς ἀργ[υρί-*
ου ΜΜΜΜΛ. Βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον Λυκόφρων
Ἀγήτα Βουκατιεύς. Μάρτυροι Κρατιάδας Ὑβρίλαος
Βουκατιεῖς, Αρίσταρχος Στρατόλαος Βουκατιεῖς,
Λύκων Λάμιος[6] *Ξένων Ἀγήσων Φιστυοί, Ἄλκηστις.*
Ἀ ὠνὰ κεῖται παρὰ Ξένωνα Φιστυόν.

The inscription records the emancipation of a slave belonging to one Lykos, an inhabitant of Arsinoe[7], by means of a fictitious sale to a deity[8]. In this case the deity is the 'Syrian Aphrodite of Phistyon.' The witnesses to the Deed are natives of Phistyon, or of Boukation. Phistyon is mentioned in the dedication published by Lolling: and the *ἱεροφύλακες* of his inscription were probably concerned with the worship of this Syrian Aphrodite.

With regard to the goddess, the epithet proves that we have not a native, but an imported cult, and a question arises as to the period at which the importation took place. Bazin[9] justly calls attention to the connexion with the East through

[1] *Mém.* App. No. 11. The restorations are mine; and in several places I have corrected Bazin's copy. See also Fick (*Sammlung-Collitz*), 1428[i]. [2] Fick has: τ[ῶν Αἰτωλῶν . . .

[3] Fick corrects to Λυ[κ]ίσ[κ]ου.

[4] Bazin: ΣΓΑ|ΡΟΣ. Fick: Σ[π]α[ῖ]ρος; cf. W.-F. 151=*Samm. Coll.* 1816: Σπαῖρος Ἀκρισίου Ναυπάκτιος.

[5] Bazin: ΤΑΓΕΝΟΣΟΙΚΟΓΕΝΗΣ.

[6] Λάμιος might be taken as 'of Lamia,' indicating the native town of Lykon. But it is a common Aetolian name: cf. the Skála Inscriptions.

[7] See p. 209 fol.

[8] See p. 333, and authorities there quoted. [9] *Mém.* p. 326.

the alliance with King Antiochos III, at the beginning of the second century before our era. With the troops of the Great King, Asiatic ideas and Asiatic cults would readily penetrate the mountains of Aetolia. Nevertheless, we cannot acquiesce in the date suggested. Aetolian free-lances had been roving about the eastern Wonderland for years before the alliance with Antiochos. It was just because Aetolia was able to pour forth an inexhaustible stream of mercenaries at the moment at which there came a demand for them that the League rose to wealth and power[1]. From the death of Alexander, Aetolia and the East had been connected in this way; doubtless those who were so lucky as to return to their native highlands brought back many a strange faith along with the gold and jewels won in Egypt or Syria. We must, therefore, recognize the impossibility of thus fixing on *a priori* considerations the date of the introduction of this Syrian cult into Aetolia; all that we can say is that it probably came after the death of Alexander the Great[2].

Of more immediate interest to the topographer is the addition of two names to the list of Aetolian towns. Neither Boukation nor Phistyon is known from other sources. Are they a real addition to our knowledge? It is, of course, practically certain that the find-spot of the inscription marks the site of the temple therein named. Where then was the town of Phistyon to which the temple belonged? If we examine the western face of the height overhanging the church we find, half-way up the slope, a few feet of wall, four courses high, built in 'irregular' style; fallen blocks at the foot of the hill are the only other vestiges. We search in vain for a continuation of the wall along the other sides of the peak; all trace of it has disappeared. The French map, besides making the mistake of putting the site to the north-east of Kryonerú[3], marks it as a palaiókastron,

[1] Cf. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 7.

[2] From the coins there seems to be clear proof that the Aetolian connexion with Syria began as early as the reign of Antiochos I, Soter. He issued three classes of bronze coins of European manufacture; and, of them, two classes have in the exergue the jawbone of a boar, an Aetolian symbol. Cf. Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* iv. 264; Brit. Mus. Cat. *Seleucid Kings of Syria*, p. 11, and *Intro.* xxiii.

[3] And even Lolling puts it eight minutes north-east of the village.

i.e. as containing the ruins of an ancient town; Bazin agrees with it[1]. We fail to discover any corroboration of that view in the single fragment of wall found on the hillside. It seems more likely that it belonged to the temple, forming part of a temenos enclosure, although this view also is not without its difficulties. Supported by an authority like Dr. Lolling[2], however, we may confidently embrace the conclusion that we have here no evidence of the existence of a polis.

We must then propose some other site for the name Phistyon, and the most likely one is the kástro of Soboníkos already described[3]. That town seems to have been unique among the Aetolian cities for the beauty and number of its shrines. We trace there the influence of circumstances that led to an architectural development not shared by the rest of Aetolia. For, in addition to the ruins already mentioned as existing in the neighbourhood of that kástro, there are others of a similar character, about fifty minutes to the north-east. We follow the before-mentioned stony path up the mountain to the village of Upper Prostovás[4]. Ten minutes below the village we see numerous well-wrought blocks, coming perhaps from an Hellenic building of which they are the only remains. To the south of Káto Prostovás there also exist the lower courses of a quadrangular Hellenic building of good style. All these may have been connected with the town that stood near Soboníkos; but we cannot positively affirm that this was the case, as the whole of this side of Mount Viéna appears to have been thickly inhabited in ancient times. Still, the polis below Soboníkos must have been the most important place in the district, and, until additional evidence comes to light, the identification of it with Phistyon has more in its favour than any other. If

[1] *Mém.* p. 326: 'd'insignifiants vestiges d'une ville étolienne.'

[2] *Ath. Mitth.* iv. 220.

[3] This is the proposal of Dr. Lolling.

[4] Προστοβᾶς, Ἄνω and Κάτω. For the history of the two villages, see Fiedler, *Reise.* i. 182. I am not sure that, in addition to the remains described, there is not a kástro of Hághios Elías above Prostovás. There is certainly a hill with a church of that name north of the village; but I found no ruins near it, though the villagers regard it as an ancient site, unless indeed I or they confuse it with the Hághios Elías above Hághios Taxiárchis, lying to the north-east of Prostovás.

this be accepted, the identity of Boukation with the polis at Paravóla seems to follow naturally; for those are the nearest considerable remains. Analogous inscriptions, it is true, make it very plain that Boukation is not necessarily to be thought of as contiguous to Phistyon; witnesses to Emancipation Deeds often belong to towns far distant from the scene of the ceremony. In default of any hint to the contrary, however, we may let the identification stand.

We have, finally, a group of ruins at the north-eastern angle of the lake. Bazin appears to have been quite unaware how rich in the remains of antiquity is this part of Aetolia, for he mentions[1] only two of the four sites to be described.

The first lies east of Prostovás. A steep rocky eminence, bearing the usual title of Hághios Elías, rises above the hamlet Hághios Taxiárchis, the metropolis of Kephalóvryson. The hill is nothing but a mass of rocks disposed in oblique layers projecting above the surface in a series of knife-like ridges, over which we painfully scramble to the eastern end of the summit. There the rocks leave a small level space, which is occupied by the ruins of an Hellenic edifice. It is a quadrangular building, lying east and west, thirty-three feet long and twenty-three feet wide, composed of fine blocks, but without any elaboration of style. In post-Hellenic times its northern wall was utilized to form the wall of the church of Hághios Elías, and another wall was run up the middle of the ancient building to form the south side of the church. The old west end then had a doorway broken through it; an apse thrown out at the opposite end completed the transformation and the ruin of the pagan temple. Nevertheless, we ought not to grumble; it was not always that the Christian architects effected their reconstructions in this merciful manner. A remarkable feature of the site is the quantity of burnt bones found upon the slope below the temple; the whole upper part of the bank appears to consist of these remnants of ancient sacrifices. The native explanation is that the hill was the scene of a battle with the very convenient Galatai. Coins are frequently picked up on the site by the shepherds, and in the hamlet

[1] Namely, Mókista (*Mém.* p. 324), and Berikos (*ibid.* p. 301).

there survives a tradition of the discovery of a 'stone man,' with of course the usual γράμματα (inscriptions): but this, if indeed it ever existed, has long ago disappeared.

On the north and east a great ravine separates the hill of Hághios Elías from the loftier spurs of Araboképhalon, on which the wretched village of Beríkos[1] stands. At the bottom of the ravine, the river Vasilikós flows from the bosom of Araboképhalon, falling into the Phídharis at the point at which that river turns suddenly southwards, below the village of Kóniska. The kástro associated with Beríkos is placed on a spur which projects to the south into the gorge, exactly opposite the hill of Hághios Elías and bearing north-east from it; a narrow saddle connects the spur with the mountain slopes leading up to Beríkos. Kardharú[2] is the modern name of the site. The remains are not worth the rough and tedious climb up the hill, but they give us a good idea of the rudeness of the Eurytanian settlements in the remote interior. The fragments of the wall enclosing the summit of the hill are composed of thin undressed slabs piled together without science. There was indeed little necessity for elaborate defences; no enemy was likely to penetrate these wilds, and if he did his only way of approaching the fort was by the saddle, or up the eastern side of the hill,—both of them roads to certain destruction, if the garrison possessed a grain of resolution. The Vasilikó ravine on the south and west rendered an attack from those sides an impossibility. So rough and impracticable is the region that it served the modern Greeks as a refuge from the Turks. Near a crag rising at the bottom of the gorge we see the ruins of a monastery known as the Καταφύγιον, the 'Place of Refuge.'

At the eastern foot of the hill there is a spring, and near it an Hellenic wall of much better workmanship than that of the fortress. It was probably designed to guard the spring and the ascent to the fort from this side.

From Beríkos we descend again to the lake, to the village of Gurítsa[3] which lies on the main road from Agrinion, four and a half hours distant from that town. Although quite

[1] Μπερίκος. It contains 300 inhabitants, and is the capital of the Deme Ἀμβρακία!

[2] Καρδαροῦ.

[3] Γουρίτσα.

a small place, Gurítsa is one of the most flourishing in this part of the country. Its prosperity is owing to its rich groves of lemon and orange trees, covering a level alluvial tract, a mile in length and nearly a mile in breadth, created at the north-eastern angle of the lake by the torrents of Gurítsa and Mókista. Immediately west of this fruitful nook the hills come right down to the water in a rocky projection, similar to the spur of Soboníkos, from which it is separated by a narrow olive-covered strip of level ground. Below Gurítsa the general direction of the lake is no longer east and west, but it makes a bend southwards along the foot of the steep slopes of Petrochóri[1].

A quarter of an hour from Gurítsa there is a small monastery, called Myrtiá from the myrtle trees which grow in profusion on the ridge. It is as picturesque and as dirty as any to be found in Aetolia. It possesses two churches in one,—that of the Panaghía, and one of much smaller dimensions attached to the southern side of the main building and dedicated to the Archangels. The size of the ἱερόν, or chancel, in the larger church is noticeable; it is nearly half the length of the whole building. The interior of both churches is covered with fairly preserved frescoes, dark with age, but apparently of good workmanship, so far as an uneducated eye might judge. Some of them have been ruined by the Turks, whose musket-balls have also riddled the massive iron-plated door of the monastery. A small bell dated 1713 seems to be the only other antiquity[2].

Gurítsa also possesses a kástro. It surrounds the ruined church of Haghía Paraskeví[3], on a small rocky hill rising from the ravine on the south of the village. The church itself is to a great extent constructed of ancient blocks. The walls of the fortress are too much ruined to allow us to speak very definitely about them, but there is enough to prove the previous existence of a small polis on the height. On the south and west the abruptness of the descent towards

[1] See pp. 242, 256.

[2] But the Christian monastery carries on the tradition of sanctity inherited from Hellenic times. To the pagan temples at Soboníkos, Kryonerú, and H. Taxiárchis, there succeeded the Byzantine monastery in the Soboníkos kástro: and this in turn has been succeeded by the monastery of Gurítsa. Cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of A. M.* pp. 83, 414.

[3] Ἁγία Παρασκευή.

the plain by the lake made elaborate works unnecessary: on the northern face of the hill we trace a few yards of wall built in fairly good 'irregular' style. The cemetery of the ancient town is found on the height by the roadside, just at the entrance to Gurítsa from the west; but hitherto nothing of value has been discovered in it, although the large slabs of which the graves are composed stimulate excavation. They are much sought after for making balconies.

Certain scanty remains to be seen among the hills, about a mile to the north of the village, probably belonged to this polis. They lie on the southern side of a low ridge, but unfortunately the operations that have been undertaken with a view to the removal of the stones piece-meal by blasting them prevent our making out their original meaning; the plan has been completely obliterated. The size of the blocks,—three feet by one and a half,—and their careful dressing, seem to prove that we have before us the vestiges of a small but good building. One slab, standing on edge, measures seven and a half feet in length. The stones show sinkings for ⊢—⊣ and ⌐—¬ cramps.

About three miles south-east of Gurítsa is the village of Mókista[1], on the outskirts of which are remains of some interest. A large building, reminding us strongly of an English barn, stands by the roadside; it turns out to be a church, or rather two churches. We have already had an instance of this common practice of combining churches in one building; it gives rise to confusions, such as have gathered round this of Mókista. Bazin speaks of it as 'l'église des Saints-Archanges,' whereas Weil calls it the church of Sophia[2]. The truth is that the larger, northern, division is dedicated to Hághios Nikólaos, and the smaller to Hághios Taxiárchis, who is of course Michael the Archangel. The ruins of an earlier Byzantine church lying close at hand belong to the Sophia of Weil. The whole site is called Palaiomonástero by the villagers.

The interesting point about the churches is that they are almost entirely composed of blocks and slabs derived from an ancient temple; large quantities of its materials are also

[1] Μώκιστα.

[2] *Mém.* App. No. 8. Cf. *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* x. 188; Weil, in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vii. (1880), p. 125.



CHURCHES OF MOKISTA; FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

scattered around half-buried, but nothing seems to remain *in situ*. By a lucky chance we recover the name of the deity to which the temple was sacred; for, as we scan the walls in search of inscriptions, we find a large block walled into the southern side of the church of Hághios Nikólaos. It bears the following inscription, in careful letters 1″ high:—

Ἄρτέμιτος Ἀγεμό[νος.

The inscription occurs twice, at the right and left hand near the upper edge of the stone: the final letters are much worn. On the lower part of the block there is an illegible inscription of a much later date. Bazin[1] takes the upper inscription to mean 'Artemitos, son of Agemon,' but the character of the stone,—a massive quadrangular block,—and the repetition of the words, prove that we have not to do with a mere sepulchral stele. Cousin[2] is certainly right in regarding it as a boundary stone, set up probably on the land belonging to the temple of Artemis Ἀγεμών [Ἡγεμόνη]. We learn from Antoninus Liberalis that Artemis Ἡγεμόνη was also worshipped at Ambrakia, the key to Aetolian possessions in Western Hellas[3].

A second important inscription is walled upside down in the apse of the larger church. It is too much worn to be made out completely; in its present position it is impossible to improve upon Cousin's copy[4], which reads:—

Στραταγέοντος τῶν Αἰτωλῶν Φ[ύ]λ[ακ]ο[ς
τοῦ Πανταλέωνος [Πλευρων]ίου [Π]αναιτωλι-
[κοῖς·] ἔδοξε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, [ἐ]π[εὶ . . . κ]ρατε-
ος Μ . . . ο[ς χ]ρ[η]σιμό[ς ἐστι πρὸς τὸ κ]οινὸν
τῶν
προξενι . . του . . ο . .
. εαμο

[1] *Mém.* p. 324.

[2] *Bull. de Corr. Hell. l. c.* Cf. Fick (*Sammlung-Collitz*), No. 1428[b].

[3] Anton. Lib. iv. Cf. Polyainos, viii. 52: the daughter of Pyrrhos *κατέφυγεν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἡγεμόνης Ἀρτέμιδος*, at Ambrakia. Hesychios tells us that Ἡγεμόνη was also an epithet of Aphrodite. For Artemis Hegemone at Tegea, Paus. viii. 47. 6; Sparta, *id.* iii. 14. 6; Lykosoura, *id.* viii. 37. 1. See Immerwahr, *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*, p. 157; Roscher, *Lexicon.*

[4] *Bull.* p. 187.

If the Pantaleon here mentioned is identical with the quondam Strategos of the League, Cousin is right in restoring Πλευρωνίου as the ethnic. We shall then also have approximately the date of the decree, for Pantaleon was in office for the first time in 186/5 B.C., again in 180/79 B.C., and for the third time in 173/2 B.C.[1] In the fourth line Cousin suggests Μήλιος, but there are many possibilities.

At least five Byzantine inscriptions are found in the walls of the two churches, or lying on the ground near at hand. Bazin gives the text of some of them, but they are apparently of no great value[2].

[1] See p. 127, *note* 2.

[2] Baz. *Mém.* p. 325; App. Nos. 9, 10. If the reading is correct, one of them teaches us that the church was rebuilt by a certain Kosmas, *ποθῶν λαβεῖν κάθαρσιν ἀμπλακημάτων.*

CHAPTER XV.

Central Aetolia.

SITES ON THE SOUTH OF THE LAKES: THE WESTERN SECTION.

When Philip of Macedon, in 219 B.C., prepared to invade the Paracheloïtis he marched through the plain of Stratos in the direction of Metropolis and Konope[1]. After burning the former town he continued his advance on Konope, but 'the Aetolian horse rallied and ventured to meet him at the ford of the Acheloos, which is about twenty stades before you reach the town[2].'

Few towns in Aetolia are identified with a certainty equal to that with which Konope is placed at the modern village of Anghelókastron[3]. The above passage from Polybios would suffice to establish the identification; but we may add others. That the regular ford of the Acheloos is in question in 219 B.C. is proved by reference to the account of the greater invasion of the following year. Then also, although his destination was different, the king crossed the river 'between the towns of Stratos and Konope[4],' clearly at the ford already mentioned, as that used on the return journey is expressly stated to have been more to the north, near Stratos[5]. Strabo tells us that Konopa, as he writes the name[6], was at first a mere village, and that it owed its foundation as a city to Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemy I Soter, and sister and wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, king of

[1] Pol. iv. 64: *ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ Μητροπόλεως καὶ Κωνώπης.*

[2] *Ibid. πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν, ἣ κεῖται πρὸ τῆς πόλεως εἴκοσι μάλιστα στάδια διέχουσα.*

[3] Ἀγγελόκαστρον.

[4] Pol. v. 6: *μεταξὺ Κωνώπης καὶ Στράτου.*

[5] *Id.* v. 13.

[6] Str. p. 460: *κώμη μὲν ἦν πρότερον καλουμένη Κωνώπα.*

Egypt. It was thereafter known as Arsinoe. His description of the place, as 'well situated for the ford of the Acheloos[1],' agrees with the indications in Polybios, and partially reveals the secret of its importance, which depends, as Leake observed[2], upon 'permanent geographical causes.' Polybios, in a passage preserved by Athenaios, speaks of Arsinoe as being near a river Kyathos, a tributary of the Acheloos[3]. Now, on the Aetolian side of the Acheloos, below the latitude of Stratos, there is no tributary to be found save the stream, sometimes called Dhimikós[4], which carries off the overflow of the two Aetolian lakes. This, therefore, must be the Kyathos[5], and the ruins near Anghelókastron must consequently be those of Arsinoe. Anghelókastron is about four kilomètres from the Acheloos; a distance which corresponds very exactly to the twenty stades of Polybios. The path from the town to the ford would be in frequent use, and its length would be accurately estimated.

The site consists of a strip of plain along the left bank of the Kyathos. On the south rises a conical hill, covered with bushes, and very steep except on the west. Behind it a narrow valley runs towards the south-west, on both sides of which are scattered the houses of the village. Conspicuous on the ridge opposite the conical hill which served as the ancient akropolis is the monastery of the Almighty (τοῦ Παντοκράτορος), the centre of a large annual Panégyris. We find scarcely anything on the site except the fragments of a Byzantine castle, represented chiefly by a portion of a square tower solitary on the summit of the akropolis[6]. Near it are the remains of a Byzantine church

[1] Str. p. 460: εὐφυῶς ἐπικειμένη πως τῇ τοῦ Ἀχελῴου διαβάσει.

[2] N. G. i. 153.

[3] Pol. ix. 45 *ap.* Athen. x. 424 d: Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῇ ἑνάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ ποταμόν τινα ἀναγράφει Κύαθον καλούμενον, περὶ Ἀρσινόην πόλιν Αἰτωλίας.

[4] Διμικός. Cramer, ii. 69, calls it the Neschio, a name which he gets from Pouq., who also speaks of a second branch of the canal as the Primicos: *Voy.* iii. 514, 516.

[5] So Leake, N. G. iii. 513.

[6] Pouq., *Voy.* iii. 518, speaks of 'l'enceinte bastionnée d'Angélo-Castron . . . Les portes, les remparts et les tours de cette place, près de laquelle on voit un village de quinze familles chrétiennes, et le monastère du Pantocrator, existent presque en entier.' I know not what to make



RUINED CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE, ANGHELOKASTRON; LOOKING EAST.

of Saint George, the walls of which are largely constructed of unbroken Hellenic blocks belonging to a fine building.

The akropolis has only two other claims to notice. The first and most important is the character of the view from its summit. The range of the Zygós projects in such a way as completely to conceal the central and eastern portion of the 'great plain of the Aetolians under the peak of Arakynthos,' as Dionysios calls it[1]. Only the extreme western end, even of the lake to which Anghelókastron gives its own name, peeps out from behind the green forest-clad spurs of the mountain. The prospect is towards ancient Agrinion in the north, and over the Acheloos into the plain of Stratos and the hills of Mánina in the west. The second feature of interest is the number of artificial caves in the conglomerate sides of the hill. Each cave extends about four feet into the rock; the roof is arched, rising three feet above the floor, which has a length of seven feet. The whole interior is coated with a greyish-white stucco, hard as marble, laid on very thickly in order to level up the natural irregularities of the coarse conglomerate.

Traces of the old Aetolian city are principally discovered in the narrow plain at the northern foot of the akropolis; the whole of the level ground on this side appears to have been included within the town. Among the remains is a cistern or shaft, with a diameter of four feet, supposed by the villagers to extend to an immeasurable depth, and to be connected with some passage communicating with the akropolis. It seems to be a rooted idea in the mind of the modern Greek peasant that every ancient citadel was furnished with its secret underground passage, leading often to a river or spring, sometimes to another citadel far removed[2]. A few yards to the west there is a subterranean building of the following description. It is a square chamber, measuring nine feet five inches each way. The roof is arched, the height of the keystone above the present level of the floor

of this, unless he has confused this site with that of Palaiománina on the west of the Áspro.

[1] Dion. Per. *l.* 431:—

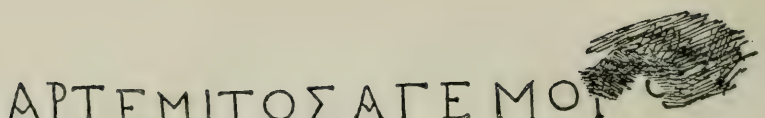
. . . ὑπὸ σκοπιὴν Ἀρακύνθου
Ἀνδρῶν Αἰτωλῶν πεδίον μέγα.

[2] Oiniadai and New Pleuron are sometimes said to be thus connected; Kardamyle and Korone in Messenia, and many others.

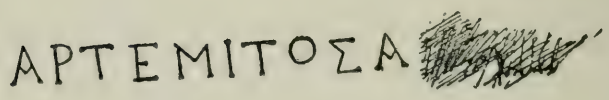
being seven feet three inches. The structure of the arch exhibits a perfect symmetry. The keystone is eight inches wide; on each side of it are twelve regular courses, which gradually increase in depth from the keystone towards the ground, where the course is sixteen inches deep. In the seventh course from the keystone, not including it, we find remnants of iron nails at intervals along the four sides of the building, but none exist elsewhere. The whole interior is coated with a fine yellowish stucco to a uniform depth of one-eighth of an inch. Faint traces seem to indicate that it was once painted. The lower courses of the wall on the south are interrupted so as to leave an aperture 3′ 3″ high, and 2′ 7″ wide, closed from the outside by a large slab sunk so deeply in the earth that the peasants have not been able to remove it: it is generally agreed in the village that their failure is an indication of something uncanny about the building, and of the existence of vast treasures under the stone. An entrance is now effected through a hole made by displacing one or two blocks of the roof. The building is empty, save for a piece of Ionic half-column with nineteen flutings: it was evidently intended to be hermetically sealed, the hole covered by the slab being left for the escape of the workman who put on the stucco [1].

Four large slabs, part of a stylobate, were discovered during the construction of the road which leads from the plain to the modern bridge over the Kyathos. They are now lying by the roadside, west of the hill, just before reaching the river on the way to the Railway Station. Three of them measure 3′ 5″ by 2′ 3″, and one shows a column mark two feet in diameter. The fourth slab is three feet square, with a column mark 1′ 5″ in diameter. Embedded in the bank on the other side of the road is a piece of a Doric column, a little over two feet in length, and 1′ 4½″ in diameter, measuring from the hollow of the flutings. The larger drums which stood upon the first-mentioned slabs are probably still buried in the field above, for we find there certain pieces of wall which perhaps belonged to

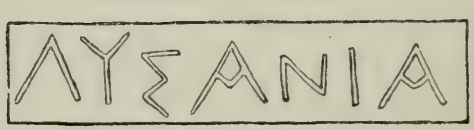
[1] I could not learn that anything was discovered in the chamber, which was opened a short time before my visit. Probably it was first rifled centuries ago.



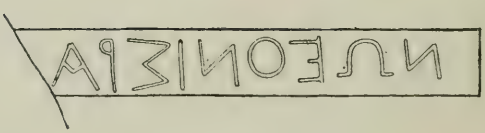
12 *a*.



12 *b*.



13.



14.

12 *a*, *b*. INSCRIPTION FROM MÓKISTA. See p. 207.

13, 14. INSCRIPTIONS ON CLAY SLABS, ANGHELÓKASTRON.

To face p. 213.

the small shrine, or whatever it was, from which came the fragments lying by the roadside.

Comparatively few small objects are found, owing to the fact that for some reason the plain which contains the antiquities above described is not under cultivation. I saw in the village two slabs[1] of hard red clay, three inches thick, each containing a single word stamped upon it near one end. The first reads:—

Λυσανία.

On the second slab the word, by a common oversight, is reversed:—

Ἀρσινοέων.

Bazin also reports an inscription:—

ΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ
ΡΥΚΛΕΙΔΑ
ΔΑΜΙΠΠΑΣ

which he translates: 'Mokrateia, Rykleida, Damippas[2].'

Obviously it must be restored thus:—

Δα]μοκράτεια
Εὐ]ρυκλείδα.
Δαμίππας.

As usual, Bazin gives no details about the stone.

It is possible that Konope, the name first borne by the town, points to the unenviable reputation that still clings to the site by reason of the low marshy ground between the lake and the Acheloos[3]. There is something rather mysterious about the change of name, from Konope to Arsinoe, nor has the truth about it hitherto been reached[4]. It is not

[1] I was assured that the slabs came from different tombs, but the circumstances of their discovery seemed inconsistent with this. They are in the possession of *Χριστὸς Κρικέλης* of Anghelókastron.

[2] *Mém.* p. 319; App. No. 6. Cf. Fick (*Sammlung-Collitz*), 1428[f], where the first word is restored as *Ἑρμοκράτεια*.

[3] *Κώνωψ* = mod. *κουνούπι*, mosquito.

[4] I cannot guess why Lolling should have imagined Konope and Arsinoe to have been two separate places. He puts Konope at

sufficient to repeat the statement given in the pages of Strabo; yet usually no attempt is made to specify the nature of the connexion existing between Aetolia and the Egyptian king, or to exhibit clearly the meaning of such foundations as this of Arsinoe. Two considerations lying very close at hand make against the reality of the supposed connexion with Egypt. Firstly, a neighbouring town also bears the name of a foreign potentate; secondly, its name,—Lysimacheia,—is that of a husband of this very Arsinoe who figures in Strabo's account. For Arsinoe, before she became the sister-wife of the second Ptolemy[1], had been taken in marriage by Lysimachos king of Thrace, in 299 B. C.[2] We suggest, therefore, that Konope was strengthened by the Thracian king, not by the Egyptian queen. Lysimachos performed precisely the same service for a city more famous than this Aetolian village,—for Ephesos, which he restored and called Arsinoe in honour of his consort[3]. It is easy to understand how from the new name there should have grown the mistake of supposing that the queen herself was to thank for the improvement of Konope[4].

Lysimachos fell in the battle of Koroupedion, in 281 B. C.[5], so that his connexion with Aetolia must belong to the interval between 299 and 281 B. C. We can fix the date more nearly when we recall the fierce warfare carried on between Lysimachos and Demetrios Poliorketes[6]. Seeing that Demetrios

Anghelókastron, and Arsinoe 'nördlich unter ihm' in the direction of the lake (Müller's *Handbuch.* iii. 139). Nothing is to be made of the fact that Polybios uses the two names indiscriminately (Konope, iv. 64; v. 6, 7, 13. Ἀρσινόη, xvii. 10; Ἀρσινοΐα, xxx. 11). Steph. Byz. has Ἀρσινόη, πόλις Αἰτωλίας, whereas he makes Κωνώπη a πόλις Ἀκαρνανίας. Bursian, *Geogr. Gr.* i. 135, *note* 3, is not quite convinced of the identity of Konope and Arsinoe; but surely we cannot go behind the express statement of Strabo, whatever we decide as to the value of his words with regard to the historical question of the connexion with Egypt.

[1] Paus. i. 7. 1; Droysen, *Gesch. der Epig.* i. 265; Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* iv, 237.

[2] Paus. i. 10. 3.

[3] Str. p. 640. Steph. Byz. *in voc.* Ἔφεσος.

[4] This error would arise when, as Mr. Mahaffy points out to me, Arsinoe became the *entrepôt* for the drafts of mercenaries destined for the Egyptian service. They must necessarily have passed through Arsinoe. Cf. p. 51.

[5] Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* iv. 72.

[6] Droysen, *Gesch. der Diad.* ii. 194 fol.

was also a deadly enemy of the Aetolians after 290 B. C.[1], it is in the highest degree probable that the friendly relations indicated by the existence in Aetolia of the names Arsinoe and Lysimacheia had their origin in the hatred and fear of Demetrios that were shared by the two great powers of continental Greece. We cannot, however, put the connexion before 287 B. C., the year in which Lysimachos ejected Pyrrhos from Macedonia and became himself master of that country and of Thessaly[2]. The foundations in Aetolia must, therefore, belong to the six years between 287 and 281 B. C.

Droysen, however, on the strength of Strabo's assertion that the improvement of Konope was the work of Arsinoe herself, expressly repudiates the connexion that we have suggested between the two towns Arsinoe and Lysimacheia[3]. Yet, in spite of Droysen's authority, we must maintain that Strabo does not say that the town was rebuilt by Arsinoe *as wife* of Ptolemy: his words amount to nothing more than a mere assertion that he means the particular Arsinoe who was both sister and wife of Philadelphos[4], in order to distinguish her from his first queen, the daughter of Lysimachos, and from others of the same name. Droysen puts the marriage of Arsinoe and Ptolemy to shortly before 266 B. C.[5]; so that, on his theory, that year is the earliest date to which we can assign the foundation. It was suggested, he thinks, by the commanding influence exercised on the politics of Greece by the Aetolian League, and it was part of a great combination set on foot by Egypt for the destruction of Antigonos Gonatas[6]. The extent of the anti-

[1] Droysen, *Gesch. der Diad.* ii. p. 280 fol.; Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* iv. 68, 330.

[2] Paus. i. 10. 2; Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* iv. 71; Droysen, *Gesch. der Diad.* ii. 311.

[3] *Gesch. der Epig.* ii. 327: 'man würde, da sich in der Nähe auch ein Lysimacheia befand, vermuthen können, dass Arsinoe als Gemahlin des Lysimachos die nach ihr genannte Stadt stiftete, aber Strabos Ausdruck verbietet es; als Ptolemaios Gemahlin, also nach 267, hat sie die Stadt gegründet.'

[4] Str. p. 460: κτίσμα δ' ὑπῆρξεν Ἀρσινόης τῆς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ δευτέρου γυναικὸς ἅμα καὶ ἀδελφῆς. [5] *Gesch. der Epig.* i. 268.

[6] *Ibid.* ii. 328: 'in der Wichtigkeit, die Aitolien sowohl für die Werbungen als für die hellenische Politik hatte, musste der Lagidenhof den Grund finden, die grossen Kosten zu solcher Gründung in fremdem Gebiet zu verwenden.' Cf. *id.* i. 276.

Macedonian movement is revealed by the inscription in which the contracting parties are enumerated[1]. They are:—Ptolemy, Athens, Sparta, Elis, Achaia, Tegea, Mantineia, Orchomenos, Phigaleia, Kaphyai, and some of the Kretan cities. This inscription is dated by the Archonship of Peithidemos, which is put by Dittenberger to Ol. 128, 2 or 3, = 267/6 or 266/5 B.C. The immediate result of the coalition was the Chremonidean war, the last and worthiest struggle of Athens for freedom[2].

This date, with the political conditions then prevailing, if these are rightly comprehended by Droysen, seems to harmonize admirably with the traditional view of the foundation of Arsinoe; but it will not stand examination. Let us assume first that Droysen's hypothesis as to the course of foreign politics is correct. The Egypto-Hellenic coalition was broken up by the naval victory gained by Antigonos at Kos[3]. His crown and his life were staked upon the hazard of that battle; his victory paralyzed the Egyptian fleet, and allowed him to devote himself to Athens and his foes in the Peloponnese. The defeat and death of Areus, the Spartan king, in an engagement near Corinth, give us the only chronological datum that we possess for the events of this period: the battle must have taken place in 265 B.C.[4] This then is the latest date to which, on Droysen's theory, we can assign the appearance of Ptolemy and Arsinoe in Aetolia; and we have seen that 266 B.C., or thereabouts, is the earliest. Can we believe that in so short an interval there should have come about that close connexion between Arsinoe and Aetolia which is implied by the ordinary interpretation of the words of Strabo upon which Droysen lays so much stress? The *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ante quem* approach too nearly to absolute coincidence to convince us of the truth of this view of the foundation.

[1] Köhler, C. I. A. ii. 332; Hicks, *Manual.* p. 286; Ditt. *Syll.* i. No. 163.

[2] See Droysen, *Gesch. der Epig.* i. 233 fol.; Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* iv. 249 fol.

[3] Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* iv. 251; Droysen, *Gesch. der Epig.* i. 241. The battle is mentioned only by Plut. *de se ipso cit. inv. laud.* p. 659: ἐν τῇ περὶ Κῶν ναυμαχίᾳ. To it refer the coins, Head. p. 203.

[4] Cf. Droysen, *Gesch. der Epig.* i. 243, *note* 1. Kleombrotos fell at Leuktra, 371 B.C.: succeeded by Agesipolis (one year), and Kleonymos (sixty-one). Areus had reigned forty-four years. Cf. Diod. xx. 29.

Yet there is still a loophole for escape. If Droysen's date for the marriage is erroneous, the interval between it and the victory of Antigonos and the consequent failure of the Egyptian policy becomes sufficiently large to admit of the foundation taking its place among the anti-Macedonian objects promoted by Ptolemy. And in fact the date 266 B.C., given by Droysen, is probably wrong. Wiedemann[1], by reference to an inscription from Mendes, shows that the ceremony cannot have taken place later than 270 B.C., and from the great stone of Pithom (*Tell el Maschûtah*), described by M. Naville, he further shows that the latest possible date for it is 273 B.C.; whence he concludes that the marriage took place in that year or a little before it. This would, of course, suit the statement of Strabo, that the town was a foundation of the Egyptian queen[2].

We must retract, then, our provisional admission of the truth of Droysen's picture of the political world at the period in question. He exaggerates the attitude of Ptolemy, and he totally misapprehends the political relations of Aetolia. Was the coalition really as formidable as Droysen imagines? The inscription at any rate does not support the view that it is the record of a Grand Alliance made on the eve of a gigantic effort to ruin Antigonos. His name does not even occur on the stone; the reference to the object of the League is of the vaguest; and there is no hint of any immediate prospect of the alliance becoming practically operative. Further, if the co-operation of Aetolia was as important and desirable as Droysen believes, how does he account for her non-appearance in the list of members

[1] *Philologus* xlvii, = N. F. i. 82 fol. His conclusion is: 'die Ehe zwischen Philadelphus und Arsinoe II in oder vor das Jahr 273 fiel.' The tendency is in the direction of pushing back the date still farther. See Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 137, where we read that it is generally agreed that the marriage took place between 278 and 277 B.C. Koepp (*Rhein. Mus.* vol. 39) puts it to 276 B.C.; cf. Mahaffy, *op. cit.* p. 140, *note* 1.

[2] By allowing an interval of eight years between the marriage and the collapse of Egyptian influence in Hellas. Of course the possibility of Ptolemaic intrigue in Aetolia becomes greater if we accept the still earlier marriage-dates given in the preceding note. But the date of the Egyptian marriage becomes unimportant if the policy of the League was philo-Macedonian until 220 B.C. This is my main position.

of the coalition[1]? Certainly at that date Aetolia could claim a place second to none among the Greek states. A closer scrutiny of history subsequent to 280 B.C. suggests that the Aetolian attitude was really philo-Macedonian, or at least neutral. It is an ingenious conjecture of Pöhlmann that the invasion of Aetolian territory by Areus in 280 B.C. was inspired, not, as is commonly thought, by Macedonia, but by Egypt[2]. Again, Antiochos I Soter of Syria, who reigned 281–261 B.C., issued a bronze coinage with an Aetolian symbol[3], and he was involved in hostilities with Ptolemy Philadelphos[4]. In 279 B.C. he sent a contingent to Thermopylai[5], and he owed his title Soter to a victory over the Galatai[6], which might well in his case also[7] draw still closer the bond between him and the Hellenic champion of freedom. There is, in fact, no sign of an Egyptian tendency in Aetolian foreign policy anterior to about 220 B.C. When we combine all these considerations with the very obvious connexion between the towns Arsinoe and Lysimacheia, and with the great probability of *rapprochement* between Lysimachos and the Aetolians in face of their common enemy Demetrios, we can scarcely hesitate in rejecting the ordinary interpretation of the statement in Strabo.

Mr. Mahaffy alone has seriously asked what is really meant by these foundations on the part of foreign powers in the heart of Aetolia. He puts forward an ingenious theory to account for the rise of the two towns, and of others elsewhere. He writes[8]:—

'That these settlements were intended to extend the influence of their founders is certain, but in what manner? I will here advance a conjecture as to the Aetolian and Lycian foundations at all events. Both these territories were at the time under the political condition of free

[1] I find that Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* iv. 136, 250, has already urged this objection.

[2] In Müller's *Handb.* iii. 446: 'wohl von Ägypten aus geschürte.'

[3] Cf. Holm, *op. cit.* iv. 239, and his notes on p. 264. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Seleucid Kings of Syria* (1878) 11, 12; and *Intro.* xxiii. See p. 201, *note* 2.

[4] The first Syro-Egyptian war: Paus. i. 7. 3.

[5] Paus. x. 20. 5.

[6] Holm, *op. cit.* iv. 261, *note* 3.

[7] As in that of Attalos. See p. 147.

[8] See his *Greek World under Roman Sway*, p. 203. *Id. The Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 137.

leagues, in which each city had a vote. Probably it was not considered constitutional among the free cities, or dignified for a Ptolemy or a Lysimachus, that a great king should be a formal member of such a league as the Aetolian, and yet in matters of restitution, especially of piratical spoils, such membership was very valuable. Hence by the means of a special foundation these kings may have acquired a vote and voice in the league, and secured themselves against its hostility. . . . By this device then Hellenistic kings could acquire diplomatic rights as well as personal popularity beyond the bounds of their dominions.'

When we examine it more closely the theory betrays a fatal want of precision. It is, in the first place, unlikely that we should have had no hint of the existence in this corner of Aetolia of a large body of Thracian and Egyptian colonists; we suppose that we must assume the cities to have been created chiefly by an importation of foreigners. A second and most serious difficulty is that we fail to understand of what benefit such an arrangement could have been to Lysimachos or Ptolemy,—if the latter had indeed any stake in the country. The population of the two towns was only an infinitesimal part of the whole body of Aetolian voters gathered in the national Assembly. How then could there be guaranteed any effective expression of a policy in the interests of the foreign kings, even if we confine it merely to the question of the restitution of piratical spoils, —one which, after all, would touch the voters more closely than many questions of greater moment? It was not a single vote that was needed, but a plurality. Again, how could the permanency of such friendly attitude be secured? Both desiderata were impossibilities, from the very structure of the Aetolian Assemblies. And, in addition to the inefficiency and instability of the means used in order to attain the supposed end, they were also unnecessary. For had not Lysimachos all that he could desire or command in the way of influence upon the national policy when once he was recognized by the Federal Assembly as an ally, and his offer to enlarge and fortify two Aetolian towns was accepted? The fact that he was granted the privilege of naming, and spending his money upon, the two cities proves that there were already established between him and the League those friendly relations which, according to Mr. Mahaffy, were to be brought into existence and maintained

by the creation of two new boroughs, if we may apply that term to the components of the Federal body.

The theory is, in short, a *hysteron-proteron*; the work done by King Lysimachos for the two towns was not the cause, but the effect, of the philo-Macedonian policy of the League. In fact, the fortification and enlargement of Konope and Lysimacheia had no special political significance. The 'diplomatic rights,' of which Mr. Mahaffy speaks, were not gained in this roundabout way, but by means of special treaties, of which we have more than one specimen[1]. We must regard the foundations, in the case of Aetolia at least, simply as compliments, which served at the same time the very useful purpose of strengthening the defensive system of the allied power; exactly as was the case with Elaos, which Attalos fortified for the Aetolians just before the outbreak of the Social War[2].

In a mutilated decree from Lamia[3] we find the date given by a Strategos from Arsinoe, but his name has disappeared. One of the Emancipation Deeds from Skála, near Naupaktos, begins with the words Στραταγέοντος Λαδίκου Ἀρσινοέος τὸ δεύτερον. The date is subsequent to 168 B.C. Arsinoe gained notoriety during the death-agonies of the League. Within its walls Lykiskos and Tisippos murdered five hundred and fifty Aetolian nobles, with the help of Roman soldiers lent

[1] The treaty with the Keians, Böckh, C. I. G. 2350; Hicks, *Manual.* p. 309; Fick (*Sammlung-Collitz*), 1410; Cauer, Del.[2] 237. With the Teians, Böckh. 3046; Fick. 1411; Cauer. 238. With Eumenes, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1881, p. 372; Fick. 1413; Cauer. 236; Ditten. *Syll.* 215. With Mytilene, *Arch. Zeit.* xliii, p. 141. Mr. Mahaffy writes to me that he is convinced that the Hellenistic kings would not confer benefits gratis,—in which sentiment I cordially agree with him. But surely those astute speculators might throw a sprat to catch a mackerel. The expenditure upon the Aetolian towns might produce abundant fruit of the kind to which Mr. Mahaffy refers; but the obligation of the Aetolians could be based only upon express convention. Apart from its unworkableness, the hypothesis of Mr. Mahaffy appears to me to involve an unthinkable postulate, viz. alienation of sovranty on the part of the Assembly. Has Mr. Mahaffy gone farther than us all in the rehabilitation of the Aetolian League?

[2] See p. 147.

[3] Fick. 1439, = Lebas. ii. 1143. Droysen, to suit his date for the marriage of Arsinoe and Ptolemy, puts the inscription after 267 B.C. It must of course belong to the interval between 279 and 193 B.C.

by Baebius[1]. In Cicero's time, unless he is exaggerating, the city was one of the fairest in Aetolia[2]. The strategic importance of the site continued to be recognized long after the Aetolian nation was forgotten, and the successive settlements upon the hill have, as we saw, almost obliterated the traces of the original town. Under different names it has existed for more than twenty-two centuries, and it forms the bond of connexion between ancient and mediaeval Aetolia. The ruined tower crowning the akropolis height is an unmistakable landmark on the south-western horizon as we look from Vrachóri. It was erected by the family of Angelos Komnenos, from which also is derived the modern name of the village.

After Konope came Lysimacheia. The little that we hear of the town guides us readily to its site. Strabo says that it lay between Pleuron and Arsinoe, near a lake called Lysimacheia[3]. Livy tells us that, in 191 B.C., Antiochos, after attending an Assembly at Naupaktos, set out to join his troops, which marched from the Maliac gulf. He took the road leading to Stratos by Kalydon and Lysimacheia[4]. Finally, we have the testimony of Polybios, who places the city after Konope, on the right of the line of march followed in 218 B.C.[5] The ruins near Pappadhátais[6] answer perfectly to these indications, and with Leake and Bazin[7] we have no hesitation in identifying them as those of Lysimacheia. The town was already a ruin in the time of Strabo[8]; it is therefore not surprising to find only insignificant vestiges of the ancient fortifications.

The Zygós range on this side consists of a succession of round or pyramidal heights richly covered with forest trees

[1] Livy, xlv. 28. The massacre took place in 168-167 B.C. Cf. Pol. xxx. 11.

[2] *In Pis.* § 91 : Arsinoën, Stratum, Naupactum, . . . nobilis urbis atque plenas fateris ab hostibus esse captas.

[3] Str. p. 460 : *κειμένη πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν Λυσιμαχείᾳ πρότερον δ' Ὕδρᾳ, μεταξὺ Πλευρῶνος καὶ Ἀρσινόης πόλεως.*

[4] Livy, xxxvi. 11 : via, quae praeter Calydonem et Lysimachiam fert, ad Stratum suis, qui per Maliacum sinum veniebant, occurrit.

[5] Pol. v. 7.

[6] *Παππαδάταις.*

[7] Leake, N. G. i. 122; Baz. *Mém.* p. 319.

[8] Str. *l. c.*, *ἠφανισμένη.*

and brushwood. They alternate with torrents that descend into the plain and ultimately find their way to the lakes. As we cross the causeway of Alí-bey from Vrachóri the gorge of Kerásovon opens before us, and in a similar gorge to the west is the hamlet of Zevgaráki. A mile to the east there is a third ravine, at the mouth of which lies the large village of Pappadhátais. The kástro hill rises east of the village: it falls very steeply on the north in the direction of the plain, and on the west towards the ravine running up into the densely wooded sides of the Zygós. The hill gradually increases in elevation northwards, so that, although it is in reality a ridge about the eighth of a mile long springing from the main chain, it has from the plain the appearance of an almost isolated cone. The wall, now ruined everywhere to the foundation, enclosed the entire summit. On the west, where it is protected by the ravine, it follows the sinuosities of the ridge without any sign of towers; on the other sides, where the fall is less abrupt, square towers have been employed. Most of them are traceable only by their foundations; the alterations due to the Middle Ages have completed the ruin that had begun even in ancient times. Two of the towers, however, still remain to a height of four and six courses respectively, and allow us to form an idea of the style of the masonry; they are in 'regular Hellenic.'

It would appear that the ancient town,—the hill of course formed only the akropolis,—had nearly the same position as the modern village. At the entrance of the village we can trace a straight piece of wall in good and regular style, some forty-six feet in length, with a breadth of seven feet. Although most of the blocks have been uprooted by the villagers, there seem to be indications of a tower. Perhaps this is a remnant of the works undertaken at the expense of the royal patron of the city[1]. Small antiquities are found on the site,—copper coins of the League, vases apparently superior in workmanship to those ordinarily found in Aetolia[2], and terra-cotta statuettes of distinctly good third-century style. A little way

[1] It is a pity that the walls of Lysimacheia are in such poor condition. We can do practically nothing towards tracing the amount of reconstruction effected by Lysimachos and his wife. Cf. p. 194, *note* 2.

[2] Vases with painted figures were reported to have come into the hands of a dealer in Agrinion; but I was not allowed to see them.

inside the ravine a modern wall contains a simple stele,—a slab with a pointed top, bearing in large rude and now almost illegible letters the word—

ΦΑΛΑΚΡΟΥ

Φαλακροῦ.

Graves are discovered in the fields along the road to the east, in the neighbourhood of Mataránga. In the pavement of the church of Saint George in that village there is preserved the upper part of a stele ornamented with two rosettes, above which Bazin deciphered the letters [1]—

ΧΙΔΑ

ΧΡΙΩΝΟ

which he interprets as 'Chidas son of Chrion'; but we should restore—

Ἀ ρ]χίδα[μος

Αἰσ]χρίωνο[ς.

Bazin gives no information as to the state of the stone in his time, and the inscription has been all but obliterated by the feet of generations of worshippers. Other reported inscriptions have shared the fate of most such discoveries, having been broken up for building purposes.

Now that the site of Lysimacheia is known we can interpret the expression of Strabo, who speaks of it as 'near Olenos [2].' It is clear that we cannot take him literally, for Olenos is below the kástro of Irene, separated from Lysimacheia by the breadth of Arakynthos, a distance of at least ten miles. We need not, however, put aside Strabo's words as a mere stupid blunder. The key to his meaning is to be found in the fact that Pleuron, as well as Olenos, is brought into relation with Lysimacheia [3]. For Lysimacheia, in addition to being what Strabo calls 'near Olenos,' is stated to be 'between Pleuron and Arsinoe.' We have already sufficiently described the

[1] *Mém.* p. 320; App. No. 7. Cf. Fick (*Sammlung-Collitz*), 1428 g, where the first word is restored as Μαχίδας. The letters ΧΙΔΑ are still with difficulty to be read on the stone.

[2] Str. p. 460: *κατὰ δὲ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἦν Ὤλενος . . . ἦν δὲ καὶ Λυσιμάχεια πλησίον.*

[3] See p. 134, *note* 1.

two most direct routes leading from the maritime plain into Central Aetolia[1]. In both cases Lysimacheia marks the point at which the road enters the central plain,—the road through the Kleisúra enters it on the west, the path over the Zygós on the east, of the town[2]. Now, the main path crossing the ridge by way of the ancient Elaos starts from Pleuron. Pleuron and Lysimacheia, therefore, guarded the two ends of the mountain road connecting the two Aetolian plains, and there was thus a very real and close connexion between the two towns; in which connexion Olenos also shared, from its proximity to Pleuron. It is that relation which, half clumsily, half inaccurately, is expressed by Strabo. Thus we have further light thrown upon the work of Lysimachos[3]. In strengthening Arsinoe and Lysimacheia he fortified two important lines of communication between Central and Southern Aetolia,—precisely the work that was subsequently completed by Attalos in the fortification of Elaos. The instinct which pitched upon the site of Konope was more sure than that which selected those of Lysimacheia and Elaos; and the future may still further justify it[4].

A serious difficulty confronts us when we endeavour to assign their ancient names to the two Aetolian lakes. We have, in the first place, the plain statement on the part of Strabo, that Lysimacheia was near a lake called in his time after that town, but formerly named Hydra[5]. If, as we should naturally argue, the town gave its name to the nearest water, we must identify Lake Lysimacheia with that now known as the lake of the Apókuro or of Vrachóri, for Pappadhátais overlooks its western end. The kástro of

[1] See p. 146. We are, of course, disregarding the most easterly route of all, that leading from Naupaktos behind Mount Chalkis over the Phídharis, and debouching into the central plain near Kalúdhi (cf. p. 240). The fourth, or most westerly route, is that through the Στενά of the Acheloos, by way of Stamná and Anghelókastron (see p. 146, *note* 2).

[2] Cf. Leake, N. G. i. 122.

[3] It must be noticed how admirably the attribution of the two foundations to Lysimachos harmonizes with what we know of him. For Lysimachos was the most brilliant strategist of his age.

[4] See p. 51.

[5] Str. p. 460: *πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν Λυσιμαχείᾳ πρότερον δ' Ὕδρᾳ.*

Pappadhátais has no natural connexion whatever with the lake of Anghelókastron, although the contrary is often asserted by those who, to avoid a difficulty, wish to give the name Lysimacheia to that lake[1]. Still, the identification with the lake of the Apókuro is apparently not borne out by Polybios, who, in describing the march of Philip, mentions only one lake, calling it Trichonis[2]. Whatever else may be asserted, this stands fast: by Trichonis Polybios could only mean the larger and most easterly of the two lakes, that of the Apókuro.

It is quite possible that at different times the same lake bore different names. A parallel for this could be drawn from the modern history of the lakes themselves. Pouqueville, for example, preserves the name Súdi, which seems now to be forgotten[3]. We might, therefore, without much hesitation, imagine that the lake of Vrachóri was first called Hydra, afterwards Lysimacheia, and finally Trichonis. This, however, does not extricate us. Strabo asserts positively that the lake bore the name Lysimacheia in his own day, though the town itself was a ruin. We should, therefore, be compelled to imagine, either that the name Trichonis came before that of Lysimacheia, and was in use for a comparatively brief period, or that different parts of the lake bore different names. Against the former supposition we must set, firstly, the fact that Trichonion still existed as a city in the time of Strabo; and, secondly, the difficulty of believing that a name derived from a place of such importance should ever have been discarded in favour of one derived from Lysimacheia, a decaying or even already deserted town.

If we accept the second hypothesis, that different names

[1] As Leake, N. G. i. 153; and Lolling, who says: 'Die Hyria wurde nach der Stadt Konope, später nach der Stadt Lysimacheia benannt.' I. Müller's *Handbuch*. iii. 139.

[2] Pol. v. 7; xi. 7.

[3] *Voy*. iii. 513. He writes: 'nous eûmes la vue du lac Trichon, que les modernes appellent Ozéros, lac de Vrachôri et Soûdi, dénominations qui répondent à celles de Lysimaque, d'Hydra ou Hyria et de Trichon, qui ne servirent jamais qu'à désigner les diverses parties d'un seul et même lac.' His map gives the name Súdi to the eastern lake, so that he evidently looks upon that of Anghelókastron as its western end, disregarding the marsh of Alí-bey. Although the name Ozerós (a generic term) might be applied to the lake, it is restricted in usage to the Akarnanian tarn in the plain of Stratos, at the foot of Lykovítsi.

were attached to different parts of the lake, we must still inquire what was the name of the smaller water, that of Anghelókastron, or, as Leake calls it, the lake of Zygós[1]. There is equal confusion here. From Antoninus Liberalis, who takes his narrative from Areus the Lakonian and the *Metamorphoses* of Nikander, we learn that the lake of Anghelókastron was first called Konope,—as indeed we should expect from its proximity to the village Konope, which afterwards became Arsinoe. The Aetolian youth Kyknos, who threw himself into the lake[2], was turned into a swan by Apollo; but his mother, whom Antoninus calls Thyrie, in despair drowned herself in the lake, which was thenceforth called Kykneia[3]. Ovid, however, calls both the mother and the lake Hyrie[4].

For the lake of Anghelókastron, then, we have the following series of names:—Konope, Kykneia, and Hyrie; not one of them seems to be known to Polybios or Strabo, who are both to all appearance ignorant of the very existence of the smaller lake. For the lake of Vrachóri we have likewise three names:—Hydra, Lysimacheia, and Trichonis. In addition to these variants, the possible connexion of Ovid's Hyrie with Strabo's Hydra, as well as with the lake Ouria[5] near the coast, constitutes a further difficulty.

The name Hyrie is almost certainly due to the confusion which I have just suggested. Thyrie, which occurs in Antoninus only as the name of the mother of Kyknos, has been changed by Ovid (or by the author from whom he derived his narrative) into Hyrie, and has been extended to the lake in which she was drowned,—the change being

[1] N. G. i. 124.

[2] Anton. Liberalis, xii: *εἰς τὴν Κωνώπην λεγομένην λίμνην.*

[3] *Ibid.* *Θυρίη ἡ μήτηρ κατέβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῳ λίμνην . . . καὶ ἡ λίμνη μετωνομάσθη καὶ ἐγένετο Κυκνείη.* He adds two small points:—*καὶ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἀρότου ἐνταῦθα φαίνονται κύκνοι· πλησίον δὲ κεῖται καὶ τὸ τοῦ Φυλίου σῆμα.*

[4] Ovid, *Met.* vii. 371:—

Inde lacus Hyries videt, et Cycneïa Tempe

which latter must indicate the Kleisúra. *Ibid.* 380:—

At genetrix Hyrie, servati nescia, flendo
delicuit; stagnumque suo de nomine fecit.
Adiacet his Pleuron.

[5] Str. p. 459.

helped, if not originated, by the existence of the somewhat similar words Hydra and Ouria as names of Aetolian lakes [1]. Further, the name Kykneia, which is applied to the lake by Antoninus, does not bear the stamp of a genuine appellation; that also is a poet's fiction, introduced to round off the story of Kyknos in the appropriate and traditional manner. We unhesitatingly reject its claim to appear upon the map of Central Aetolia. We are thus left with Konope as the only genuine title of the lake of Anghelókastron during the historical period,—if it had a name at all, or indeed any separate existence as a lake. For the failure of Strabo and Polybios to notice the fact of there being two lakes, and still more the physical structure of the basin, are enough to make us ask whether it is not probable that in ancient times there was no division between the two sheets of water [2].

Hydra, the original name of the larger lake, may have belonged primarily to some town on its shores. Possibly it was the old name of Lysimacheia [3]; if so we can readily understand how the lake should have borne both those names at different epochs. The two names Lysimacheia and Trichonis may have been in existence contemporaneously, the former being applied to the western, the latter to the eastern end of the lake. However that may be, as Lysimacheia fell into decay, the name Trichonis won its way by little and little, until it was the only one known to Polybios. Strabo, however, in his authorities found the name Lysimacheia recorded, and copied the information.

This seems to be the only hypothesis by which we may reconcile the conflicting statements of poet, geographer, and historian.

[1] It is quite unjustifiable to change the Ὕδρᾳ of Strabo (p. 460) to Ὑρίᾳ, as Bursian (*Geogr.* i. 135) suggests. It is not for Ovid to rectify Strabo, but it is Strabo who convicts Ovid of geographical confusions.

[2] See pp. 49, 272.

[3] That is, when the place was still a κώμη, before its re-foundation by the Thracian king. Or Hydra may have been an old name of Trichonion. See p. 133, *note* 5. We may express the sequence of names thus:—(Konope)—Hydra; (Konope)—Lysimacheia-Trichonis; (Konope)—Trichonis.

CHAPTER XVI.

Central Aetolia.

SITES OF THE APOKURO [1].

I.

It is with the eastern section of Central Aetolia that our topographical difficulties really begin. In Lower Aetolia the problem is merely one of arrangement; we have a certain number of sites, and a certain number of ancient names to be distributed among them: and no site is left anonymous. Here the case stands otherwise: sites abound, but names are wanting. Scanty, however, as is our knowledge of this most important part of the country, we are fortunate in still having Polybios [2] for our guide; the valuable services ren-

[1] In Turkish times the *kazá* of Karlilí, which embraced all Akarnania and most of Aetolia, was divided into four parts:—Váltos and Xerómeros on the west of the Acheloos (= Akarnania); Vlochós and Zygós on the east of the river. The line of division between the two latter districts was the northern shore of the lake of Anghelókastron, which was thus entirely included within the district of Zygós. On the lower Euenos Zygós bordered on the Venetikó, the district of Naupaktos. The eastern section of the central basin was called Apókuro, which wholly included the lake of Vrachóri, being severed from Krávari by the middle Euenos. Krávari constituted a separate district, but Apókuro belonged to the *kazá* of Karpenísi. North of the district of Vlochós came that of Ágrapha. See Leake, N. G. i. 124.

Leake suggests that the name Apókuro may be a corruption of the ancient name Kourion, as part, at least, of Mount Arakynthos (Mount Zygós) was called (cf. Strabo, p. 465: τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Κουρίου τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου τῆς Πλευρῶνος. See also *id.* p. 451). Apókuro would thus = the region 'behind Mount Kourion,' i. e. N. of the Zygós.

[2] Cf. Palmer, *Gr. Descr.* p. 461: 'O si Polybium integrum haberemus, quanta lux in Graeciae descriptione nobis affulsisset!'

dered by him in the Paracheloïtis will be found to be repeated, and even surpassed, in Central Aetolia.

Our knowledge of the towns round the eastern lake is, in fact, almost entirely derived from his account[1] of the Macedonian invasion of 218 B.C. Half the Aetolian army being then absent in Thessaly with Dorimachos, the Akarnanians seized the opportunity to prevail upon Philip to strike an unexpected blow at the capital of Aetolia. Philip set out from Limnaia with his troops in light marching order[2] and with guides selected by himself. Starting in the evening the force made sixty stades. After a short halt[3] to enable the men to snatch a hasty meal, the king put them in motion in earnest, 'and marching right through the night[4] arrived, just as day was breaking, at the river Acheloos, between the towns of Stratos and Konope, being anxious that his entrance into the district of Thermon should be sudden and unexpected. . . . He continued his march without interruption; and after crossing the Acheloos advanced rapidly upon Thermon, plundering and devastating the country as he went[5], and marching so as to keep Stratos, Agrinion, and (the) Thestieis on his left, Konope, Lysimacheia, Trichonion, and Phytaion on his right.

'Having arrived at the town of Metapa, which is on the borders of the Trichonian lake, and close to the narrow passage along it, about sixty stades from Thermon, he found it abandoned by the Aetolians, and occupied it with a detachment of five hundred men, with a view to securing his entrance into and exit from the defiles: for the whole shore of the lake is mountainous and rugged, closely fringed with forest, and so affording but a narrow and difficult passage. He now arranged his order of march, putting the mercenaries in the van, next them the Illyrians, and then the peltasts and men of the phalanx, and thus advanced through the pass; his rear was protected by the Kretans, while the Thracians

[1] Pol. v. 6–14.

[2] *τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἀποθεμένους εὐζώνους σφᾶς παρασκευάζειν πρὸς ἀναζυγήν.*

[3] *βραχὺ διαναπαύσας.* [4] *συνεχῶς νυκτοπορήσας.*

[5] *Id.* v. 7: *ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν κατὰ τὸ συνεχές· διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἀχελῷον ποταμὸν προῆγε συντόνως ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Θέρμον· ἅμα δὲ προάγων ἐδήου καὶ κατέφθειρε τὴν χώραν.*

and light-armed troops took a different line of country, parallel to his own, and kept up with him on his right flank. His left was covered by the lake for nearly thirty stades.

'At the end of that distance he arrived at the village of Pamphia. Having, as in the case of Metapa, secured it by a guard, he continued his advance towards Thermon; the road now being not only steep and exceedingly rough, but with deep precipices also on either side, so as to make the path in places very dangerous and narrow: the whole ascent being nearly thirty stades. Having accomplished this also in a short time, thanks to the energy with which the Macedonians conducted the march[1], he arrived late in the day at Thermon. There he pitched his camp, and allowed his men to go off plundering the neighbouring villages and scouring the plain of Thermon, and to sack the dwellings in Thermon itself, which were full, not only of corn and such like provisions, but of all the most valuable property that the Aetolians possessed . . .

'Next day, taking with him as much booty, living and dead, as he could, Philip started from Thermon, returning by the same road as that by which he had come; putting the booty and heavy infantry in the van, and reserving the Akarnanians and mercenaries to bring up the rear. He was in great haste to get through the difficult country, because he expected that the Aetolians, relying on the advantages of the ground, would harass his rear[2]. And this in fact soon took place. A body of Aetolians that had collected to the number of nearly three thousand for the defence of the country, under the command of Alexander of Trichonion, hovered about, concealing themselves in certain secure hiding-places, and not venturing to approach so long as Philip was on the high ground; but as soon as he got his rear-guard in motion they promptly threw themselves into Thermon, and began harassing the hindermost of the enemy's column[3]. The rear being

[1] Pol. v. 8: *διανύσας δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ διὰ τὸ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐνεργὸν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν κ.τ.λ.*

[2] *Id.* v. 13: *σπεύδων ὡς τάχιστα διανύσαι τὰς δυσχωρίας διὰ τὸ προσδοκᾶν τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐξάψεσθαι τῆς αὐραγίας, πιστεύοντας ταῖς ὀχυρότησι τῶν τόπων.*

[3] *Ibid.* *ἅμα δὲ τῷ κινῆσαι τὴν οὐραγίαν ἐπέβαλον εὐθέως εἰς τὸν Θέρμον καὶ προσέκειντο τοῖς ἐσχάτοις.*

thus thrown into confusion, the attacks and charges of the Aetolians became more and more furious, encouraged by the nature of the ground.

'Philip had foreseen this danger, and had provided for it, by stationing his Illyrians and his best peltasts under the cover of a certain hill on the descent. These suddenly fell upon the advanced bodies of the enemy as they were charging; whereupon the rest of the Aetolian force fled in headlong haste over a wild and trackless country, with a loss of a hundred and thirty killed, and about the same number taken prisoners. This success relieved the rear; which, after burning Pamphion, accomplished the passage of the defile with rapidity and safety, and effected a junction with the Macedonians near Metapa, at which place Philip had pitched a camp and was waiting for his rear-guard.

'Next day, after levelling Metapa to the ground, he advanced to the city called Akrai; next day to Konope[1], ravaging the country as he passed, and there he lay the following day in camp. On the next he marched along the Acheloos as far as Stratos, where he crossed the river[2].'

In 206 B. C. Philip fell a second time upon Thermon, and completed the work begun twelve years previously. Unfortunately the passage in which Polybios described this second expedition is lost. We read only that 'advancing to the lake Trichonis Philip entered Thermon, where there was a temple of Apollo; and there he once more defaced all the sacred objects that he had spared on his former occupation of the place[3].' We gather from the references in Stephanus that the names of two towns,—Phytaion and Ellopion,—must have occurred in the narrative[4].

The sites occupied by Agrinion and the Thestieis on the left and those of Konope and Lysimacheia on the right of the route have been determined. Their identification does not

[1] Pol. v. 13: *τῇ δ' ἑξῆς ἅμα προάγων ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας περὶ Κωνώπην ἐπέμεινε τὴν ἐχομένην ἡμέραν.*

[2] *Ibid. ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχελῷον ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Στράτον. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν ποταμόν κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Pol. xi. 7.

[4] Steph. Byz. *Φύταιον, πόλις Αἰτωλίας. Πολύβιος ἑνδεκάτῳ. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Φυταῖος.* For Ellopion, see p. 261, *note* 1.

depend solely upon the indications given in connexion with this invasion, and it remains unaffected by the particular theory adopted with regard to the position of the capital and the road by which the Macedonians reached it.

As to Trichonion, the next city in order, scarcely any doubt is possible. From the fact that Strabo took it, along with Stratos, to define the extent of the central Aetolian plain [1], and from the fact that it gave its own name to the principal Aetolian lake, we infer that Trichonion was the most important town in this region. The site of Gavalú [2] corresponds to this inference, as it is situated in the richest part of the country on the south of the lakes, a little to the west of the point at which the level ground ends and the spurs of the Zygós come right down to the water. The importance of the site is not strategic, but arises entirely from its central position with regard to the finest land in Aetolia. The village lies about five miles east of Pappadhátais, on the western slope of a low ridge running from east to west, and connected with the hills leading up to the Zygós on the south. From the northern foot of the height, the plain, richly covered with maize, tobacco, vines, and olive trees, extends to the margin of the lake of Vrachóri, a distance of about two miles [3].

Scarcely anything survives of the fortifications; here and there only, along the sides of the hill, a few stones enable us roughly to determine the line of the enceinte. It is only at the eastern end of the ridge, where it is less steep than on the west, that any considerable fragments of the wall are visible; but even there we find only *disjecta membra*, from which it is impossible to carry away any complete idea of the system of defence. There is, however, enough to show that a gateway existed at that point, and there is some trace of a projection at the angle. The style of masonry is somewhat

[1] Str. p. 450. See p. 57.

[2] Γαβαλοῦ. Capital of the Deme Μακρυνεία. It has about 700 inhabitants.

[3] So Leake (N. G. i. 155) writes: 'the occurrence of its name (Trichonion) after that of Lysimachia, among the cities on the right of Philip in his progress towards Thermus, places it beyond a doubt towards the south-eastern extremity of the plains, where Gávala, in a fertile district on the southern side of the Lake of Apókouro, seems perfectly to correspond to the data.'

rude, reminding us of that of Ithoria, and of the earlier work in Old Aetolia. The general impression gained is that these ruins are more ancient than any to be found along the southern shore of the lakes[1]; if they are those of Trichonion this is in agreement with the early importance of that city.

Although the site is thus of little value as a specimen of Aetolian fortification, it has yielded more than any other in the way of small remains; probably much is hidden under the soil at the foot of the kástro. The white walls of the church of the Panaghia on the top of the hill are conspicuous even from the road on the northern side of the lake. It may stand on the site of an ancient shrine, as fragments of Ionic columns are found near it. Similar fragments are also unearthed near the akropolis wall on the east, below the church. They are fifteen inches in diameter, of coarse stone covered with a very white thick stucco. A lion's-head gargoyle to be seen in the village probably came from the same building. Many tombs are opened on the plain at the northern foot of the hill; they yield small ornaments, and vases with rude incised designs. Five inscriptions have also been discovered on the site; but as they are all, with one exception, from grave stelai they are of little importance. The exception is a dedication, of fairly good period. One of the grave-stones is Roman. They thus indirectly testify to the existence of the town throughout the period of the League; and this again is in harmony with its identification as Trichonion. The inscriptions are the following:—

(1) On a plain slab of sandstone 2′ × 1′, cut at the bottom for insertion in a basis: the upper edge of the stone is bored in order to receive the *anathema*. Letters good, $1\frac{1}{2}''$ high[2].

Τρωιὰς
ἀνέθηκε.

(2) Veined white limestone stele, decorated with oak leaves and rampant animals, now lying in two pieces at the spring on the northern side of the akropolis. Letters carefully cut,

[1] See p. 133, *note* 5.

[2] This inscription, as well as No. 2, first published by Cousin, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1886, p. 189.

in a sunken band. There is nothing wanting, though the first letter is slightly mutilated.

ALLIA · C . L · LENA

(3) On plain stele of grey stone, now walled in above the fireplace of a house near the aforesaid spring. Above the inscription there is an incised equilateral triangle, with traces of red paint; but the colouring may be a modern addition. Letters 1½″ high, rude and coarse.

ΑΛΕΞΙΑΣ

Ἀλεξιάς.

(4) Among the vineyards, a quarter of a mile east of the akropolis, on the left hand as one goes to Burlésa. Same material as No. 2; namely, a hard white veined stone, which seems to have been imported. Letters fair, 1½″ high; second word very faint. The stele is about 18″ high.

Ὠφελίωνος

Ἀνθίππας.

(5) A worthless fragment which cost me much trouble to re-discover. It is a stele, once preserved at the ruined church of St. John, a kilomètre from the kástro, in the direction of the lake. Here it was seen by Cousin[1]. Since his visit it has been removed to the church of Haghía Paraskeví at Kalpheníkion, and ruined by the addition of rude figures. I could only decipher:—

ΧΑ¯ · · ΕΓ ↄΥ

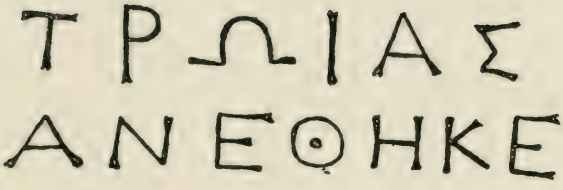
Cousin's copy is probably more trustworthy. He read:—

ΧΑΡΙ · ΕΝΟΥ

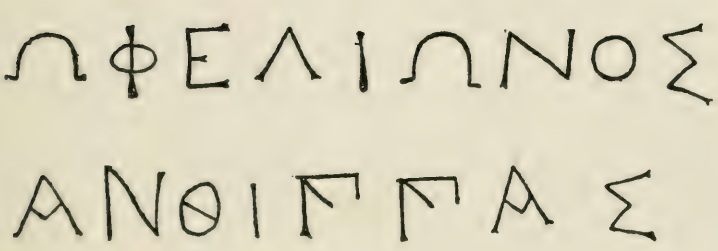
Χαρι[ξ]ένου.

Trichonion gave birth to a considerable number of prominent men. It is chiefly identified with the turbulent family of Nikostratos, who gained notoriety by some underhand

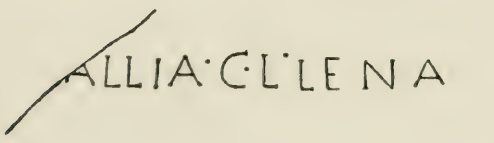
[1] *l. c.* 'Dans les ruines d'une église au milieu des champs.'



15 *a*.



15 *b*.



15 *c*.

15 *a*, *b*, *c*. INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAVALÚ.

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attempt upon the Boiotian Federation[1]. Dorimachos[2], his son, twice Strategos of the Aetolians, covered Aratos with shame at Kaphyai[3] and himself with dishonour at Dodona[4]. The physically infirm Ariston[5], and the headstrong Skopas, both of them kinsmen of Dorimachos, kept alive the violent traditions of the house. Dikaiarchos and Thoas, two brothers who in turn held the supreme office of the nation, had to their credit the chief share in the negotiations with Antiochos, which led to the ultimate ruin of both Aetolia and the Great King[6]. Nikandros and Proxenos, the former a fellow-exile of Polybios in Italy, complete the list of Strategoi from Trichonion. No other town could boast of so long a list or of so commanding an influence upon the politics of the nation. Alexander, who threw himself upon Philip's rear-guard after the sack of the capital, was also a Trichonian; many other natives of the town are known to us from inscriptions. We get the idea that, owing to its favourable situation, Trichonion early became the home of wealthy chieftains whose riches enabled them to win great names for themselves, and we must regret the more that so little has survived of the city whose sons played so large a part in the history of their country.

The next place mentioned by Polybios is Phytaion. It is with this name that divergence among the topographers begins, for some put the town on the north, others on the south of the lake. Yet there is in Polybios no hint of any change in the direction followed by the army. Konope, Lysimacheia, Trichonion, Phytaion, follow one another without a break[7], so that we are justified in searching for

[1] Pol. iv. 3; ix. 34: *Τί δὲ Λάτταβος καὶ Νικόστρατος; οὐ τὴν τῶν Παμβοιωτίων πανήγυριν, εἰρήνης οὔσης, παρεσπόνδησαν, Σκυθῶν ἔργα καὶ Γαλατῶν ἐπιτελοῦντες ὧν οὐδὲν πέπρακται τοῖς διαδεξαμένοις;*

[2] Pol., iv. 3, characterizes him as *πλήρης Αἰτωλικῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ πλεονεξίας.* He was Strategos in 219/8 and 210/9 B.C.

[3] *Id.* iv. 11 fol.

[4] *Id.* iv. 67.

[5] *Id.* iv. 5: *διά τινας σωματικὰς ἀσθενείας ἀδύνατος ὢν πρὸς πολεμικὴν χρείαν.*

[6] *Id.* xxi. 31: *ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας πνεύσαντες Θόας καὶ Δικαίαρχος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης Μενεστᾶς καὶ Δαμόκριτος συνετάραξαν τοὺς ὄχλους κ.τ.λ.*

[7] *Id.* v. 7: *παρῆει δ' ἐκ μὲν εὐωνύμων ἀπολιπὼν Στράτον Ἀγρίνιον Θεστιεῖς, ἐκ δὲ δεξιῶν Κωνώπην Λυσιμάχειαν Τριχώνιον Φύταιον.*

the site of the last member of the series in the direction which we have hitherto followed.

After leaving Gavalú we pass through Burlésa[1], and, still going eastwards, find the foot-hills of the Zygós advancing farther into the plain; at the same time the lake makes a bend towards the south-east, so that the plain at last entirely vanishes, and the road is cut in the rocks or supported on buttresses along the edge of the water. Five or six miles from Gavalú we emerge upon a level recess at the head of the lake. The last member of the hills on the west of this plain projects towards Lake Trichonis in a long high steep ridge, on which we see the village of Palaiochóri[2]. The main road, which we have been following, does not ascend to the village, but keeps along the eastern foot of the ridge, in the direction of Makrynú.

The summit of the hill of Palaiochóri forms a very narrow platform, which on north, east, and south-east, falls abruptly to the plain. On the west it descends more gently, yet somewhat steeply, to the stream that separates it from other similar projections springing from the main hills on the south. Besides being built actually on the line of the western wall, the village is probably composed entirely of materials taken from it. The steepness of the hill on the remaining sides, especially on the south-east, made it unnecessary to have more than a straight line of wall along the western brow of the plateau, with a short return at either end running across the ridge. The wall seems to have had square towers; at any rate the foundations of one appear under a modern house at the southern extremity of the line: it projects fifteen feet from the curtain. The defences nowhere rise higher than two courses. They are remarkable for their extreme solidity of construction, and for the great size of the blocks employed. The breadth of the wall is about nine feet: the style 'irregular Hellenic.' No remains are found within this narrow akropolis, which is now planted with corn. The ancient town probably lay on the slope below it, in the direction of the western ravine[3]. Antiquities

[1] *Μπουρλέσα.* [2] *Παλαιοχώριον.*

[3] The ridge does not fall immediately into the lake, being separated from it by a somewhat lower projection or spur. This also seems to have been occupied in ancient times.

have in fact been discovered near the spring, or Kephalóvrysis, to the north-west of the village. Among them were a torso, and a marble hand grasping some round object, supposed by the peasants to be an egg, but probably intended to represent a pomegranate or other fruit. I found it impossible to trace these objects farther than the Eparchíon of Mesolónghi.

These ruins must be identified as those of Phytaion[1]. In his account of the first invasion Polybios merely mentions the name of the town, not a word being said of either its occupation or its destruction: in this respect it resembles Trichonion, Lysimacheia, and Konope. Doubtless all those towns were, like Metapa, found deserted; and Philip, as he approached, would send forward a detachment to occupy them until the column had passed. For obvious reasons there was no need to leave a force in possession; nor was there time to destroy their works. The case of Pamphia and Metapa was different; owing to their situation at the two ends of the defile, it was absolutely necessary to occupy them with a garrison; and subsequently, if possible, to raze their fortifications, in order to set the seal to the destruction of the capital by dismantling the fortresses that covered it. On the occasion of the second invasion, however, there seems to have been a change; in some way, Phytaion, along with the hitherto unheard-of town Ellopion, figured prominently in the operations of the king.

The fact that Phytaion comes immediately before Metapa suggests the nature of those operations. Philip had uncovered the approach to Thermon as effectively as was possible in the short time at his disposal in 218 B.C. In 206 B.C. he completed his work by demolishing the outer zone of defence. The appearance of the walls themselves confirms this theory. The immense solidity of the enceinte of Palaiochóri is unmistakable; we find no such masonry elsewhere on this side of the Trichonian lake. It is, in fact, only in parts of the wall at Vlochós that we see anything to resemble it. Walls like these were not to be razed without appliances, and time to use them. Phytaion, therefore, escaped destruction in the flying inroad of 218 B.C., but the

[1] So Bazin, *Mém.* p. 321. Lolling, in accordance with his previous identification of Pappadhátais as Trichonion, puts Phytaion at Gavalú.

more deliberate invasion made twelve years afterwards saw it permanently crippled, at any rate as a fortress. An inscription from Delphi gives us the name of one Panaitolos, a native of Phytaion, and Strategos of the League some time during the first half of the second century[1].

At this point difficulties crowd upon us. We have still to locate four towns,—Metapa, Pamphia, Thermon, and Akrai. That is the order in which they appear in the narrative; but it is not their real order. The true sequence, from west to east, is Akrai, Metapa, Pamphia, and Thermon. Nevertheless, their identification, in the absence of evidence from the sites themselves, must depend solely upon the order in which the names occur in the story of events. If, then, we can fix the position of Metapa, the first link in the chain of narration, it should not be difficult to locate the other towns, seeing that in two cases Polybios has furnished us with precise numerical data in addition to the other niceties of his description.

We are here, in fact, face to face with the central problem of Aetolian topography, for the secret of the true position of the capital might almost be said to have died with the nation. The natural difficulties which, in men's imaginations more than in actual fact, fenced round the 'akropolis of Aetolia' have reappeared in the far more formidable barriers of merely partial investigation or prejudiced judgement. How baneful in their effects these can be is shown by the examples of Leake and Bazin, who both failed to solve the problem,—the former owing to the incompleteness of his explorations, the latter owing to his preconceptions. It is an interesting commentary on their efforts to find how near the truth Bursian comes; so near that Dr. Lolling, the next inquirer in the field, reads the riddle. In many ways,

[1] Baunack (*Samm. Coll.*), 1854 = W.–F. 189. Panaitolos dates also the inscription Baunack. 1729 = W.–F. 64. He was Strategos at some time between 170 and 157 B.C. Bechtel (*Samm. Coll.* 1511) gives a fragment from Δημαρχία, near Neon-Thronion, in the country of the Opountian Lokrians; it runs [Ἄρχοντος . . .] Θρονιεῖς ἔδωκαν . . . εος Αἰτωλῶι ἐκ Φυ[ταίου αὐτῶι κ]αὶ ἐκγόνοις τὸν [πάντα χρόνον] προξενίαν κ.τ.λ. This belongs to the same period. Cf. Girard, *De Locris Opuntiis*, p. 48.



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however, Lolling fails to be a true successor to Bursian, and, although he correctly identifies Thermon, his other suggestions are inferior to those put forward by the writer of the *Geographie von Griechenland*,—nay, the very identification of the capital is in defiance of the logical results of Lolling's own scheme of topography, as revealed in the sites suggested for the remaining towns of this district. Nor, again, did Lolling make the slightest attempt to exhibit the process by which the identification was reached, or to establish its truth in the face of the difficulties surrounding it.

That there are difficulties it would be idle to deny. They are not here due to the ravages of centuries and the destruction of all points of contact between the literary record and the face of nature, but to the very multiplicity of the sites with which we have to deal. The hills round the eastern end of Lake Trichonis are thickly covered with the remains of ancient towns; in the narrow interval between the kástro of Palaiochóri and the river Phídharis we find ruins at no fewer than eight points. We shall describe them in order, and then attempt to discover their connexion with the narrative of Polybios.

SITES ON THE EAST OF LAKE TRICHONIS.

Along the eastern foot of the hill of Palaiochóri a stream called the Méga Révma runs towards the lake from the hills in the south-western corner of the plain. High on their slope is the upper village of Makrynú; at their foot is the lower hamlet, Káto Makrynú[1]. The eastern part of the lower village bears the name Hellenikó, and the frequent discovery of architectural fragments, such as pieces of columns and capitals, and of Byzantine coins, proves that something stood here in the Middle Ages. A few blocks which contain sinkings for cramps might possibly date from an earlier period; in the neighbourhood of the upper village

[1] Μακρυνοῦ, Ἄνω and Κάτω. Meletios, the good Bishop of Árta, who is responsible for much of the topographical rubbish embodied in modern Greek place-names, has the following in an enumeration of ancient towns in Aetolia (*Geogr.* ii. 306): Περαντία πόλις, ὁμοίως καὶ αὗται· Πλευρώνη, Ἄραχθος, Μακρύνεια, ὅπου εἶναι τώρα τὸ Χωρίον Μακρυνοῦ, καὶ τὰ λοιπά. He must have had in his mind chiefly Ptolem. iii. 14. 13.

similar blocks are reported. As there are no traces of a fortified enceinte, we are right in concluding that this is not the site of an Hellenic polis: it may be that of some outlying village round a sacred place to which there succeeded a Byzantine church.

The modern road to Naupaktos, five hours distant, runs from the south-eastern corner of the plain[1]. Eastwards the plain is bounded by hills of limestone, the continuation of the Aetolian Alps, of which the last southern member is Mount Rhígani. Among these hills is the village of Kalúdhi[2], from which a deep gorge and stream run towards the north on their way to the lake. Just at the point at which this stream meets another coming from the south-east, we find two ancient sites. The first is on a steep rocky hillock placed in the gorge itself, at the confluence of the streams. The sides of the hill are so abrupt that on three flanks it has never been artificially defended. Traces of a single wall are found at the north-eastern corner, from which it continues along the eastern side in a broken line, interrupted where the precipices provided sufficient defence. At the south-eastern corner there is a square projection, possibly indicating the point of ascent and entrance. The small circumference of the hill, and its excessively rugged character, cause us to wonder of what use it could have been as a fortified place. It is also completely commanded by the towering sides of the ravine. The style of the work is careful 'irregular Hellenic' of good appearance; at the northern end of the line the masonry is fine 'regular' work. Bazin[3] is quite at fault when he describes these walls as displaying an 'art tout primitif, qui allait à la solidité sans être capable d'y ajouter l'élégance.' The peasants know the ruins under the name Καστρᾶκι, or Καστελᾶκι, the 'Little Fortress.'

The site called Mesovúni[4] lies high on the ridge on the

[1] The road ascends from the plain in a series of zig-zags along the sandstone slopes bounding the southern side of the plain. On the crest is the khan of Κουρμέκη. About one hour to the south is Μεταξᾶ. Some future traveller must investigate the report of the existence of considerable ruins at Metaxá. A variety of circumstances made it impossible for me to do so.

[2] Καλούδιον.

[3] *Mém.* p. 323.

[4] Μεσοβοῦνι. The enclosure seems to resemble that of the kástro

northern side of the ravine. The remains are those of a scarcely distinguishable enclosure among the patches of grain on the height. Looking across the gorge we see Kalúdhi to the south, Kastráki to the south-west, and the village of Dhervékista[1] to the south-east, on the opposite hill-side.

In order to reach the remains known as the Kástro of Dhervékista we descend from Mesovúni to the ravine which joins that of Kalúdhi; then we go eastwards until we emerge upon the small plain, called the *Κάμπος* of Avaríkos, at the other end of which gleams the white bed of the Phídharis. The small pyramidal height at the western end of the plain bears remains, and is called by the usual name, Palaiókastron. A tributary of the Phídharis skirts the base of the hill and turns several mills. The shade of the trees and the sound of rushing water make the spot a pleasant one; it bears the appropriate name of *Μάννα Νεροῦ*, 'Mother of water.' The fortifications on the hill belong to the Middle Ages, but a few pieces of Hellenic wall, with square towers, prove the site to be that of a polis. At the northern foot of the eminence, close by the path, lines of beautifully dressed and cramped blocks have recently been uncovered. They may belong to a sepulchral memorial. Before we reach the kástro, at a distance of one hour from Mesovúni, we find a spring (Kephalóvrysis), near which, under the deep shade of the trees, we discover about forty feet of excellent Hellenic masonry, standing four feet high, and running north and south. Several ancient blocks lie round the spring itself. We may compare the similar remains near the source at the foot of the Beríkos kástron[2].

If we retrace our steps and follow the stream from Kastráki in the direction of the lake we at length again emerge upon the plain that lies at the foot of Palaiochóri. A steep round detached hill rises on the edge of the plain, just at the mouth of the ravine; it bears north-west from Kastráki. Its level summit was surrounded in ancient times by a ring-wall built in rude style, of slabs rather than blocks. In the north-east of the enceinte, opposite the upper village

of Morósklavon; but it is hopelessly ruined. Apparently it has been in occupation in post-Hellenic times.

[1] *Δερβέκιστα, Δερβεκίτσα.* [2] See p. 204.

of Morósklavon[1], which lies on the hills above, are traces of a gateway of a simple but effective kind. It is formed merely by the overlapping of one end of the wall over the other, so as to create a short passage between them. The wall was apparently destitute of flank-defences; but as the entire summit of the hill is now cultivated and the enceinte quite destroyed it is very difficult to follow the little that is still visible. A similar ring-wall enclosed a smaller hill lying immediately to the north, i.e. in the direction of the lake. Aetolian coins are picked up frequently on the double site. Although we speak of it as double, there is no reason to imagine the existence of more than one town here; the hills are too small and too close together to have served as separate citadels of two distinct settlements, whereas if the one eminence was occupied as an akropolis it was absolutely necessary also to fortify the other. It is possible that the two enclosures were united by walls running across the depression[2].

At the northern foot of the hill is the lower village of Morósklavon. Five minutes from the village, in the direction of the lake, we find a Roman ruin among the vines. It stands six or seven feet high and is built of narrow bricks presenting a very beautiful appearance externally. Like most ruins of the same kind, it is popularly known as the Vayéni,—*βαγένι*, a 'tun or wine-press.' It is chiefly noteworthy as resting on two courses of fine Hellenic blocks transported from some large building, very possibly from Makrynú.

The modern high road passing through Lower Morósklavon does not climb the steep to the upper village of that name, but, turning towards the north-east, ascends the hills above the lake in a series of windings. When it has gained sufficient elevation it runs straight in a gradual ascent towards the village of Petrochóri. The hill-side in which the road is cut is exceedingly steep, falling below almost sheer down into the water, and rising above no less abruptly. Landslips and winter torrents make continual repairs necessary.

From Lower Morósklavon it takes one hour in order to

[1] *Μωρόσκλαβον.*

[2] As in the case of Gyphtókastron and Petrovúni.

reach the kástro of Petrochóri[1] crowning a small height a short distance north of the modern village of that name. The houses of the village are placed on a knoll or swell on the very brow of the plateau above the lake. Towards the north-east a well-cultivated level valley extends nearly four miles to the heights at the foot of which Kephalóvryson lies[2]. The plain measures about a mile across at its widest part, but its breadth gradually diminishes as we approach Kephalóvryson. Along the south-east it is bounded by an almost continuous ridge, which descends until it stops opposite Kephalóvryson in a low rocky tongue, behind which there runs a second narrow valley southwards in the direction of Chrysovítsa and Avaríkos. A similar pass leads north-eastwards to Kóniska in Krávari, a journey of five hours. On the northern side of the plain the hills are not continuous, being interrupted by a depression between the kástro hill of Petrochóri and the heights above Kephalóvryson. The modern road from Kephalóvryson goes through this depression northwards round the lake by way of Mókista and Gurítsa, and so ultimately to Vrachóri[3].

The kástro hill of Petrochóri is under cultivation, and the terrace-walls in the cornfields are chiefly composed of the ruins of the old fortifications. The hill has also been occupied in post-Hellenic times, so that only very slight remains of the Aetolian enceinte are now distinguishable. The enclosure seems to have descended from the narrow akropolis summit on the north-west, and to have embraced the eastern and south-eastern faces of the hill. The area defended is small; the circumference of the lines must perhaps scarcely have exceeded a third of a mile. The only considerable fragment now to be found of the ancient enceinte consists of the foundations of a large square tower on the northern slope, just at the angle formed where the wall turns up to the rock below the peak. The style in which it is built is good 'irregular Hellenic.' The chief interest of the kástro lies in its grand situation. Perched high above the eastern end of the greater lake we look down

[1] Πετροχώριον.

[2] Κεφαλόβρυσον. A pleasant village of over 600 inhabitants. It is the capital of the modern Deme Παμφεία. See also p. 203.

[3] It is a six hours' ride from Kephalóvryson to Vrachóri.

the whole length of the central Aetolian basin between Mount Viéna and the long line of the Zygós to the Akarnanian summits low in the dim distance of the west. In the south-east we see the head of Mount Rhígani. In the east the view is limited by the rugged masses of Krávari.

On the narrow plain below us, and almost due east, lies the kástro of Kephalóvryson, which goes by the name of Palaiobázaro[1] (Palaio-bazári), or simply Hellenikó. It is distant a short half-mile south-west of Kephalóvryson, and about two miles from Petrochóri. It is remarkable as differing from almost all Aetolian cities in that it is built not upon the summit or side of a hill but entirely in the plain, at the foot of the ridge bounding the valley along its south-eastern side. In other respects also this kástro holds a unique position among the Aetolian sites. Its ground plan is that of a nearly regular quadrangle, three sides of which remain; the fourth side, that on the east, or more correctly the south-east, leans against the stony ridge, and perhaps never was defended,—at any rate the wall on this side, if it ever existed, has disappeared without leaving a trace. The other three sides, facing respectively north-east, north-west, and south-west, still stand to an average height of three courses. The thick growth of bushes along the top partially hides the ruins from sight, so that they do not exhibit an appearance in keeping with their real importance[2]. At intervals of about one hundred and forty feet we find square towers, with a frontage of, in general, twenty-three feet. Fifteen such towers may be counted. Near the western angle of the enclosure there occurs a semicircular tower, the only one on the site; it is close to a square projection placed at the angle itself. Between this round tower and the square one at the angle we find a small gateway, of which there remains only the opening through the wall. The thickness of the wall varies between eight and nine feet. It is built in a style resembling that of Chalkis, i.e. the courses are, in general, regular, but the face of the blocks is left rough, and the joints are oblique. The blocks have a tendency to be nearly square; but in some

[1] Τὸ Παλαιοπάζαρον, τὸ Παλαιο-μπαζάρι. Τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

[2] I regret that it proved impossible to obtain a satisfactory photograph, either of the site as a whole, or of any part of it.

parts they are large parallelograms, as along the south-western side of the enclosure. The system of bonding the two faces by means of cross-pieces has been very carefully followed, so that the wall presents the appearance of a series of compartments, into which earth and small stones were tightly rammed.

The maize-fields on the site, and still more their accompanying network of small canals for purposes of irrigation, make it difficult to follow the traces of buildings within the walls. We notice, in the first place, that a road seems to have entered the enclosure at the eastern angle, where the line of the enceinte ends against the hill. This road probably passed quite through the site, following the base of the ridge; its course is for some distance very plainly indicated by a series of rectangular sinkings made in the rocks by the side of the path for the reception of stelai. A long row of these cuttings stretches inwards from the wall as far as the remains now scarcely distinguishable as those of a church, that of the Holy Trinity. This church has been built entirely of ancient materials; it is now only a heap of beautifully prepared stones, which have sinkings for iron cramps, and other indications of their having originally belonged to a building of superior style.

The most careful search fails to reveal any certain vestige of the stelai that once lined the roadway. It is possible, however, that the mutilated block lying by the watercourse a few yards lower down may have been a member of the series. Lolling, in 1876[1], deciphered one of the two inscriptions which it contains. It reads as follows:—

Πολύφ[ρ]ων Λύκου Ἀ . . . σαν τὴν ἰδίαν θρεπτ[ὴν
ἀπελ]ευθ[έρ]ωσεν ὑπὸ Διία Γῆν Ἥλιον μηδε[νὶ
μη]δὲν προσήκουσαν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰτωλῶ[ν
νόμους ἰσοτελῆ καὶ ἔντειμον.

Near the south-western wall, running parallel with it towards the hill, are the foundations of a long rectangular building or enclosure, which reminds us of that in the ruins of New Pleuron. It measures some four hundred feet in length, and forty-two in breadth; a wall four feet thick

[1] *Ath. Mitth.* iv (1879), p. 221. See p. 284.

surrounds it, built in the same style as the main wall of the kástro. A few drums of columns have been unearthed in and near the enclosure.

Close to the line of the south-western wall there is now lying a large block adorned with a simple moulding, below which is inscribed, in shallow letters 1″ high, weathered to the verge of indecipherability, the following inscription. A slight fracture at the lower left-hand corner has destroyed three letters in the last two lines.

Ἁ πόλις τῶν Ὀπουντίων καὶ οἱ Λοκροὶ
οἱ με[τὰ] Ὀπουντίων τὸν στραταγὸν
τῶν Αἰτωλῶν Λύκωπον Πολεμάρ-
χου καὶ Κυδώνιον ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκεν
κ]αὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς εἰς αὐτοὺς τοῖς
θε]οῖς ἀνέθηκαν [1].

In addition to these inscriptions, Cousin also publishes one from the site, but it seems to have disappeared. He describes the stone as broken on the left hand, and much worn [2].

ΝΙΟΙ Σ Τ ΡΑΤΑ ΓΕΟΝ Το
ΟΥΠΟ Λ Υ Δ ΑΙ Τ Α
·ΥΧ Α Β ΙΙ Μ ΑΧ Ε Τ
ΡΑ Τ Ρ Ο Υ

Other small antiquities are also found in the kástro, together with many coins of the Aetolian League, as well as of other parts of Greece. More important are the finds of fragments of statuary, both marble and bronze. They seem mostly to come to a bad end [3], but that these discoveries are not purely mythical is proved by the photograph of a bronze

[1] It has been suggested to me, by Mr. D. G. Hogarth, that καὶ Κυδώνιον is a mistake in transcription for Καλυδώνιον. Curiously enough this had never occurred to me, and I copied what I seemed to see on the stone. The only Polemarchos mentioned by Polybios (xviii. 10) is a native of Arsinoe. The stone is so much rubbed that before very long it will be impossible to say what is the correct reading: *verb. sap.*

[2] *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* x. 186. See p. 284.

[3] Yet by a lamentable perversion of interest certain 'fossil bones' discovered at Hághios Taxiárchis are preserved in the village with a care amounting almost to veneration. Cf. Neumayr, *Denkschr.* Wien. 1880.



TERRACE AT CHRYSOVITSA; LOOKING NORTH-EAST.

thumb picked up on the site (see p. 281). It is from a statue of life size, of fine workmanship, belonging to the period of fully developed art. Its importance, and that of the inscriptions, will be weighed in the sequel.

A site of considerable interest lies one hour and a half to the south-east of Kephalóvryson, below Chrysovítsa [1], a village one hour west of the river Phídharis. The site (Hellenikó) is at the foot of a rocky hill covered with bushes, forming the northern boundary or base of a small triangular plain. We find a well-built wall of 'irregular Hellenic' work supporting the hill; then, at a little distance farther into the plain, a second wall, at a lower level, supports the terrace that extends from the base of the hill and the first retaining-wall. The style of the lower wall is somewhat ruder than that of the first, being a sort of transitional style between 'polygonal' and 'irregular Hellenic [2].' There are only faint traces of the two end walls that probably united the upper and lower lines so as to enclose the terrace. Its axis lies east and west. The line of the southern side is broken towards the east by a rectangular building, now, and perhaps also in ancient times, containing a spring. Only three sides of the reservoir are preserved; possibly it never had more. Its workmanship is of the best, — a narrow course of white stone, and above it two courses of grey stone in fair rectangular blocks twice the depth of the cillcourse [3]. The peasants, who have repaired the reservoir, report that small figures (Ἀγάλματα) of πουρί (poros or tufa) were found in it some years ago; these were broken, or otherwise dispersed. Curiously enough, the peasants do not use the water of the reservoir for drinking purposes, but solely for their flocks and for washing clothes; a second spring a few yards below the terrace supplies water to the village, which lies on the hill above the site.

On the hill itself we find other relics of antiquity, notably a beautiful grave, seven feet by three, of three regular courses in the most perfect style. In the fields to the west of the terrace are many fragments of walls, as well as bases for stelai. There are also pieces of poros columns of the Doric order, about eighteen inches in diameter. The plain

[1] Χρυσοβίτσα. [2] See p. 294.

[3] Cf. Leake, N. G. iii. 56.

below the terrace contains part of a pavement of large slabs, and it is covered with fragments of tiles. A grave was reported to have yielded large inscribed tiles, which were subsequently destroyed. Coins of all periods, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine, are found on the site in large numbers, according to the villagers. Undoubtedly we have here the site of some Aetolian cult: but nothing remains by which to identify it [1].

[1] Neither Bazin nor any one else, so far as I am aware, has ever previously visited this site. I should imagine it to be that of an Asklepieion, of the later, less primitive, sort. Note the resemblance of the site to that of the Asklepieion of Naupaktos (p. 313).

CHAPTER XVII.

Central Aetolia.

SITES OF THE APOKURO.

II.

We now approach the task of identification. We have before us the four towns mentioned by Polybios, namely Metapa, Pamphia, Thermon, and Akrai: and we have eight ancient sites, those of Makrynú, Morósklavon, Kastráki, Mesovúni, Dhervékista, Petrochóri, Kephalóvryson, and Chrysovítsa. We may, however, at once dismiss from consideration the sites of Makrynú and Dhervékista,—the first owing to its obvious unimportance and the doubtfulness of its claim to rank as an Hellenic polis; the second owing to its distance from the lake. For the same reasons Chrysovítsa also must be disregarded. Finally, Kastráki cannot be considered as anything more than a subordinate fort, attached either to the town on the Mesovúni or to that on the two heights of Morósklavon.

We are left, therefore, practically with no more than the four sites of Morósklavon, Petrochóri, Kephalóvryson, and Mesovúni. In making our identifications we must bear in mind that Akrai, the most westerly in the series of ancient towns, is not heard of in the march to Thermon, but in the retreat. This must imply that it lay off the direct route followed by the Macedonians in their hurried advance. Their more leisurely retreat allowed them to make a slight détour for the purpose of sacking and destroying Akrai as a finishing stroke [1]. Going east from Phytaion (Palaiochóri), the next town in the direct line is Metapa.

Just at this point in his narrative Polybios becomes

[1] Or the détour may have been dictated by strategic reasons. See p. 260, *note* 2.

remarkably circumstantial. Metapa is described as being 'on the shore of Lake Trichonis, close to the narrow path along it, about sixty stades from Thermon[1].' The town evidently commanded the entrance of what Polybios calls *τὰ Στενά*, seeing that Philip occupied it with a garrison in order to secure his entrance into and exit from the pass[2]. That it was actually at the mouth of the pass, and not some distance within it, is proved by the fact that Philip also seized the opportunity at Metapa of issuing instructions as to the formation to be observed by the column while marching through the defile. Plundering and devastating along the line of march was now forbidden; no man could be permitted to leave the ranks while traversing this dangerous ground, so favourable to the Aetolian methods of fighting. Consequently, we hear nothing more of these subsidiary operations until Thermon itself is reached. If we put Metapa at Morósklavon it suits perfectly the requirements of the case. Exactly such a pass as Polybios describes extends from Morósklavon in a north-westerly direction above the lake as far as Gurítsa.

A march of about thirty stades from Metapa brought Philip to Pamphia[3]. We must locate Pamphia upon the kástro hill of Petrochóri[4]. It takes, as we have said, one

[1] Pol. v. 7: *ἡ κεῖται μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Τριχωνίδος λίμνης καὶ τῶν παρὰ ταύτην στενῶν, ἀπέχει δὲ σχεδὸν ἑξήκοντα στάδια τοῦ προσαγορευομένου Θέρμου.*

[2] *βουλόμενος ἐφεδρείᾳ χρήσασθαι πρός τε τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἐκ τῶν στενῶν.* Mr. Shuckburgh wrongly translates this: 'to secure both ends of the pass.' Ἔξοδος does not refer to the other end of the pass, for that was protected by the fortress of Pamphia. The word hints at Philip's intention of returning by the way that he came, and thus anticipates chap. 13: *ποιούμενος τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπάνοδον ᾗ καὶ παρεγένετο.*

[3] Pol. v. 8: *πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην κώμην Παμφίαν.*

[4] Lolling, being determined to find the pass of Metapa in the defile a few miles to the east of Gavalú, is compelled to put Metapa itself somewhere between Gavalú and the entrance of that defile. The site at Gavalú he, of course, assigns to Phytaion (see p. 237). He puts Metapa 'bei dem Metochi Analipsis,' a short distance east of Gavalú. But I did not hear of any ruins in this direction, other than those of Palaiochóri and Upper Botínu. With regard to Pamphia, Lolling merely says: 'an dem östl. Ende dieses Engpasses öffnet sich eine kleine Ebene, die im Altertum der Kome Pamphia (und Pamphion) angehörte, und in der mehrere kleine Ansiedlungen lagen (bei Paläochori und Morósklavo).' On his scheme Petrochóri also is left anonymous.

hour to go from Morósklavon to Petrochóri, and this indicates thirty stades, or thereabouts, according to the usual estimate of time-distance in Greece. The remark that Philip's left flank was covered by the lake for a distance of thirty stades after leaving Metapa[1], a remark of crucial importance for the whole controversy with respect to the invasion, is in precise agreement with the facts of the ground, if we assume our two identifications to be correct.

A word of explanation is perhaps necessary with regard to the introduction of this remark on the part of Polybios. It is true that if the line of march skirted the northern side of the Zygós the left flank must have been covered by the lake during the whole advance. It is obvious, however, that this fact becomes especially true and valuable at the precise point at which we locate Metapa, namely at the south-eastern angle of the lake, below Morósklavon. Between Konope (Anghelókastron) and Trichonion (Gavalú) a level tract of varying breadth intervenes between the line of march and the water[2]. No special precautions were adopted during this stage, because the men engaged in destroying the crops served all the purposes of flank guards to the column; consequently, Polybios was not led to mention the lake, preferring to define the route by reference only to the series of towns upon the right flank. The moment the order of march was changed, with a view of ensuring the safe passage of the defile of Metapa, it became necessary to advert to the protection afforded by the lake in order to explain why only three covering bodies of light infantry are mentioned.

Again, seeing that the advantage of having the lake upon the flank ceased at the end of thirty stades (i.e. at Pamphia), it is an obvious inference that between Pamphia and Thermon the army was moving away from the lake, viz. towards the east, the only direction that fulfils the condition. Yet another inference must be drawn. As we do

[1] Pol. v. 7: *τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς πορείας ἠσφάλισθ' ἡ λίμνη σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα στάδια.*

[2] It is obvious that, according to our topography, the Macedonian line of advance, after leaving Lysimacheia (Pappadhátais), must have practically coincided throughout with the modern highway along the S. of the lake.

not hear of any modification having been made in the disposition of the troops in order to compensate for the loss of the security afforded by the lake, we are compelled to imagine that for the last thirty stades of the journey excessive caution was considered needless,—in fact, that at Pamphia the column had reached the end of the perilous defile. The road was henceforward clear and open to Thermon[1]. We are thus quite cut off from the supposition that the Macedonians continued to follow the dangerous and precipitous slopes north of Petrochóri.

Summing up then, our position is as follows. Firstly, between Metapa and Pamphia the proximity of the lake became important in a higher degree than previously. Secondly, as this proximity ceased at the end of thirty stades, the direction of the advance must have been changed at Pamphia. Lastly, although the change in direction involved the exposure of his left flank, the king was not under the necessity of adopting extra precautions; in other words, the force had issued from the defile. Taking these three irrefragable inferences along with the two precise statements of Polybios, that Metapa lay sixty stades and Pamphia thirty stades from the capital[2], there is no alternative possible,—Thermon must be recognized in the Palaio-bazári of Kephalóvryson.

And here, for the first time, we light upon a discrepancy in our authority. The statement made by Polybios is that after leaving Pamphia the road was steep and rough, with deep precipices on either side. As he adds that the whole ascent was nearly thirty stades in length, the road must have retained its wild character to the very gates of Thermon.

[1] The detachment thrown into Pamphia (Petrochóri) overlooked the whole surrounding country from the summit of its akropolis. They would, of course, be in communication with the column advancing up the valley. For methods of signalling, see Pol. x. 43–47.

[2] It need not cause us difficulty to acknowledge that, in putting Thermon thirty stades from Pamphia, Polybios is guilty of a slight exaggeration of the distance, assuming the towns to be correctly identified with Kephalóvryson and Petrochóri respectively. The distance of Petrochóri from Morósklavon (Metapa) is almost exactly thirty stades; but that of the Palaio-bazári of Kephalóvryson from Petrochóri is barely twenty. See p. 257, *note* 2. It takes 45 minutes to walk from Petrochóri *village* to that of Kephalóvryson.

If, however, we are right in identifying Thermon with Kephalóvryson, this description is not in harmony with the actual nature of the ground. Between Petrochóri and Kephalóvryson there are no such difficult features; the road runs up the centre of a plain.

Yet the inferences derived from the previous narrative inevitably lead to this identification, and a number of small facts recorded by Polybios combine to establish its truth. On their arrival at the capital the Macedonians take advantage of the short remainder of the day to 'plunder the neighbouring villages, and to scour the plain of Thermon[1].' The incidental mention of the 'plain of Thermon' is of the highest value. It goes far to vindicate the truth of those inferences by which we were guided to the Palaio-bazári of Kephalóvryson, which actually does lie upon level ground. It must tend to strengthen our faith in those inferences to find that the result to which they bring us is so exactly in harmony with this additional and independent piece of evidence.

Even the reference to the 'neighbouring villages' is strictly in accordance with the indications in the vicinity of Kephalóvryson. For, in addition to the ruins already described, there are other relics, which show that in ancient times the valley was the scene of considerable activity. Such subordinate remains are found about half a mile to the west of Palaio-bazári, near a church of the Panaghía; there are also others at the entrance of Kephalóvryson itself. Owing to their small extent these ruins have already mostly disappeared, but enough still exists to prove that the kástra of Petrochóri and Kephalóvryson do not exhaust the list of settlements in the plain. We should not naturally expect to find any large remains of the villages grouped round Thermon, as they must have been little more than collections of cabins

[1] Pol. v. 8: *ἐφῆκε τὴν δύναμιν τάς τε περιοικίδας κώμας πορθεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Θερμίων πεδίον ἐπιτρέχειν.* Note that, taking as it stands the description of the road, we should actually become the victims of a false inference as to the nature of the site occupied by Thermon, had we not this solitary reference to the plain. For if we accept the account of the road between Pamphia and Thermon we must also believe that both those towns stood in the midst of wild and dangerous defiles, which increased in difficulty as the capital was approached. There is no hint that before reaching Thermon the army passed into more practicable ground.

similar to many a modern Greek *Chorió*. The ruins actually found are, in all probability, those of small shrines, near which the peasants established their dwellings.

Returning now to the discrepancy in Polybios, we must, in the first place, emphasize the fact that it exists *irrespectively of the site assigned to Thermon*[1]. Any and every theory that takes Philip round by the south and east of Lake Trichonis is inevitably met by this contradiction between the words of the historian and the actual features of the ground. Even if we suppose, as Bazin has done, that the army continued its march in a north-westerly direction after leaving Petrochóri, there does not exist in fact such contrast in the character of the two sections of the road as is expressed in the ancient account. Polybios, as his words now stand, represents the first part of the road, after leaving Metapa, as bad, but the second part, after leaving Pamphia, as much worse. As a matter of fact, let Thermon be where we please, it is the first section, not the second, that is most hazardous. Polybios is in error, whatever opinion we adopt as to the position of the goal of the expedition.

The explanation of his error is simple, and would long ago have been proposed had the passage ever been handled by one having the qualification of intimate personal acquaintance with the scene of operations. The discrepancy arises from a simple repetition. The words 'for the whole shore of the lake is mountainous and rugged, closely fringed with forest, and therefore affording only a narrow and difficult passage[2],' are usually understood to be a description of the road from Metapa onwards, as far as Pamphia. Yet the expression '*the whole shore* of the lake' cannot have this restricted application; it is undoubtedly a general description of the entire route by the lake-side, inserted at this point quite naturally in connexion with the mention of the pass. The pass, as we should judge from the form of expression used[3], indicated the point at which the difficulties of the route were acknowledged to culminate. Such was the case between Metapa

[1] A remark that is true of the genesis of the present Chapter: my analysis of the ancient texts had been driven to its ultimate point before any attempt was made to apply its results to the topography.

[2] Pol. v. 7: *ἐστὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τόπος ὀρεινὸς καὶ τραχύς, συνηγμένος ταῖς ὕλαις, διὸ καὶ παντελῶς στενὴν καὶ δυσδίοδον ἔχει τὴν πάροδον.*

[3] *τῶν παρὰ ταύτην στενῶν.*

and Pamphia (i. e. between Morósklavon and Petrochóri); and it was at Metapa, before entering the defile, that the king made his final dispositions for surmounting the obstacles. It is these obstacles that are described by Polybios in the words that in his narrative *follow, instead of preceding*, the arrival at Pamphia,—'the road was now not only steep and exceedingly rough, but with deep precipices also on either side, so as to make the path in places very narrow and dangerous; the whole ascent being about thirty stades [1].' If we had any doubts about the matter the reference to the ascent of thirty stades would be sufficient to dispel them; for, as has been pointed out, we actually find no such ascent, except between Morósklavon and Petrochóri, that is during the first part of the road. Polybios has clearly misplaced his description of the path.

If we carefully examine the account given of the retreat, we find ample confirmation of our theory. Philip was convinced that the Aetolians would fall upon his rear-guard before he got through the defile. His fears were realized, but the Illyrians and a picked corps of peltasts took the charging Aetolians upon the flank, and drove them off with loss. 'This success,' writes Polybios, 'relieved the rear; which, after burning Pamphion, accomplished the passage of the defile with rapidity and safety, and effected a junction with the Macedonians near Metapa, at which place Philip had pitched his camp and was waiting for his rear-guard [2].' It is evident that the burning of Pamphia,—called in this place Pamphion,—preceded the march of the rear-guard through the defile. Covered by the rear-guard, Philip with the centre traversed the pass without accident; but the moment the rear-guard itself prepared to file out of Pamphia it was threatened with extermination. This picture entirely precludes the idea that a dangerous pass, similar to the one into which the covering force was about to descend, intervened between Pamphia and Thermon.

[1] Pol. v. 8: *ὁδὸν οὐ μόνον προσάντη καὶ τραχεῖαν διαφερόντως ἀλλὰ καὶ κρημνοὺς ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους ἔχουσαν βαθεῖς ὥστε καὶ λίαν ἐπισφαλῆ καὶ στενὴν τὴν πάροδον εἶναι κατ' ἐνίους τόπους, τῆς πάσης ἀναβάσεως οὔσης σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα στάδια.*

[2] *Id.* v. 13: *ταχέως οἱ περὶ τὴν οὐραγίαν, ἐμπρήσαντες τὸ Πάμφιον καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας διελθόντες τὰ στενά, συνέμιξαν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν.*

Such an idea is likewise quite irreconcilable with the reluctance of the Aetolians to attack the king while he was 'on the high ground[1],' and their desperate attempt to annihilate the rear-guard as it descended into the defile. The Illyrians and peltasts were concealed 'under a certain hill on the descent[2].' The broken country on the crest of the plateau above the lake, between Petrochóri and Morósklavon, offers abundant facilities for such an ambuscade[3]. Most important are the words relating to the 'descent.' We are at once reminded of the expression 'the whole ascent being thirty stades[4],' which occurred in the description of the advance, being there wrongly inserted *after* the mention of Pamphia. The two are clearly one and the same; namely, the steep and once perilous path up the hill from Lower Morósklavon to Petrochóri. That is the only portion in the entire circuit of the lakes that admits of being described in a plain and straightforward sense as an ascent. The road from Petrochóri onwards to Gurítsa, on the other hand, crosses the plateau at a nearly uniform level above the lake; at Gurítsa we begin the descent towards Soboníkos.

The conclusion to which we come is inevitable. Polybios has correctly described the narrow path along the forest-clad shores of the lake; the situation of Metapa at the entrance of the dangerous pass, sixty stades from Thermon; the position of Thermon itself, on the plateau, some thirty stades from Pamphia. By implication he has also given us the additional correct information that the defile came to an end at Pamphia, thirty stades from Metapa, and that at Pamphia the army swung round upon Thermon. The sole difficulty is that his picture of the steep ascent, with the precipices above and below it, is inserted at the wrong place, viz. between Pamphia and Thermon, instead of between Metapa and Pamphia.

[1] Pol. v. 13: *ἕως μὲν ὁ Φίλιππος ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων, οὐκ ἤγγιζον ἀλλ' ἔμενον ἔν τισι τόποις ἀδήλοις.*

[2] *Ibid.* *ὑπό τινα λόφον ὑπεστάλκει τοὺς Ἰλλυρίους ἐν τῇ καταβάσει.*

[3] In crossing the hills from Avaríkos to Petrochóri I noticed how on the left hand there ran a series of rocky hills, the intervals between them resembling gigantic embrasures through which there was obtained a view over the lake. These openings must afford a passage to the steep slope along which the modern highway is cut.

[4] *Id.* v. 8: *τῆς πάσης ἀναβάσεως οὔσης σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα στάδια.*

Still, an error is not corrected until its source is explained. Polybios, it must be remembered, was probably not personally acquainted with the scene of this exploit of the young king, but took his facts from others. Aratos, one of his authorities, actually accompanied Philip on this expedition. I think, for instance, that the passage[1] which indirectly attributes to Aratos the successful issue of the invasion was unquestionably derived from the *Memoirs* of the Achaian General, who was neither very truthful nor very modest. Polybios found himself somehow in possession of two pieces of description of the route followed by the king, and he incorporated them at the wrong points in his own narrative. Having utilized the first, which applied to the entire shore, at the point at which the pass of Metapa was mentioned, he fell into the mistake of supposing that he had thereby given a description of the pass itself, and of the difficulties which influenced Philip to rearrange his order of march. The second piece of description, which really did apply to the pass of Metapa, and to it alone, he found still in his hands, and he naturally inserted it at the only possible place,—namely, to describe the last stage of the advance, that from Pamphia to Thermon. Fortunately for us, he did not re-cast the whole account, and thus get rid of those contradictions and destroy those minutiae of phraseology which enable us to put our finger upon his mistakes and to correct them[2].

I think that we may venture even farther than this. Prominent among the Aetolian leaders arrested and sent to Rome in 170 B. C. was one Nikander of Trichonion[3], thrice

[1] Pol. v. 7: 'But Aratos, seeing clearly that the opportunity for action was fleeting, and that Leontios was plainly trying to hinder their success, conjured Philip not to let slip the opportunity by delaying. The king was now thoroughly annoyed with Leontios: and, accepting the advice of Aratos, continued his march without interruption.' This was on the banks of the Acheloos, before crossing into Aetolia.

[2] This explanation accounts well for the slight inaccuracy, to which we have called attention on p. 252, with regard to the distance of Pamphia (Petrochóri) from Thermon (Kephalóvryson). The thirty stades given by Polybios are due simply to his reduplication of the pass of Metapa. I imagine that the distance of Metapa itself from Thermon was got by a process of addition based upon his own narrative, thus:—Metapa to Pamphia + Pamphia to Thermon = 30 stades + 30 stades; the truth being that Polybios was only reckoning the first stage twice.

[3] Cf. Pol. xxvii. 15; xxviii. 4: along with Hippolochos, Lochagos, and

Strategos of the League. And Polybios himself was one of the thousand unfortunate Achaians who, in 167 B.C., were deported to Italy, where they remained in exile sixteen years. There can be little doubt that Polybios thus became acquainted with Nikander[1], and that in his history he used information supplied by the old General. It is to him directly that Polybios owes the very full knowledge that he displays of Central Aetolia and the Paracheloïtis. In the case before us, the confusion is due to his having combined the descriptions supplied by his two first-hand authorities,—Nikander and Aratos.

If our identifications are correct, and our explanation of the error in Polybios the true one, our theory should issue triumphantly from the final test to which it must be submitted. We have not yet considered the position of Akrai. This town is only once mentioned. 'Next day,' writes Polybios, 'after levelling Metapa to the ground, Philip advanced to the city called Akrai, and next day to Konope[2].' We must, therefore, look for Akrai somewhere between

Eupolemos. Polybios says that they were arrested 'without cause' (*ἀλόγως*). Nikander was Strategos in the years 190/89; 184/3; 177/6 B.C. Cf. A. Mommsen, *Philolog.* xxiv. p. 1 fol.

[1] This, to my mind, is proved by the interest so evidently displayed by Polybios in the fortunes of Nikander (cf. Pol. xx. 11: *περὶ δὲ τῆς συμβάσης τῷ Νικάνδρῳ περιπετείας οὐκ ἄξιον παρασιωπῆσαι*). It is to this, for example, that we owe the story of Nikander's adventure as he was returning from Ephesos. The story is a purely personal one, and of no intrinsic importance. The personal element should be noted in the words: 'greatly alarmed lest he should meet with rough treatment from having incurred Philip's resentment, or should be handed over to the Romans.' Its date is 191 B.C.; nevertheless, Polybios ends it with a brief summary of Nikander's subsequent career, and an allusion to his death at Rome. This anticipation must be explained by our supposition that in exile Polybios came to know and like Nikander. In 190 B.C. it was Nikander who led the expedition that restored Aetolian prestige in Athamania, Amphilochia, and Dolopia (Pol. xxi. 25). Here again we get the personal touch, in the words: 'Nikander led his army home, believing that Aetolia was secured.' I believe, indeed, that it is possible to assign with some precision several other passages to this Aetolian source, as distinctly as others can be traced to the animus of the Achaian Aratos.

[2] Pol. v. 13: *εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν κατασκάψας τὴν Μέταπαν προῆγε, καὶ παρενέβαλε παρὰ τὴν καλουμένην πόλιν Ἄκρας.*

Morósklavon and Anghelókastron. It has already been shown that the town must have lain off the direct road, seeing that it is not mentioned during the advance. Further, we may find some indication as to the character of the site in its name, which signifies a projection, horizontal or vertical. On the scheme of topography here developed we have not the slightest difficulty in locating the town. The palaiókastron of Upper Botínu[1] answers to all the data in a remarkably satisfactory manner.

The upper village of Botínu lies one hour west of Palaiochóri, and two hours east of Gavalú, but not upon the main road. We must ascend for three quarters of an hour from the lower hamlet, near the highway, to the base of a lofty pyramid which dominates the surrounding country. The village stands at the north-eastern foot of the hill, up which a steep path leads in ten minutes to the kástro. We cross the line of the enceinte on its eastern side, at the point at which it descends from the main peak to enclose a small plateau on the northern slope. Perhaps the word plateau is scarcely correct; it is really a group of small knolls, all rising to the same general level below the principal summit. These knolls are included within the line of the northern wall, which is thus broken into a series of natural bastions. On the western side of the entire hill there was no wall; continuous cliffs, gradually increasing in altitude as they run towards the summit of the height, afforded sufficient defence. The top of the hill is a flat oval space covered with trees (*πουρνάρια*), among which stands the church of Hághios Elías. Several ancient fragments are seen in its walls. We find three triglyph slabs of grey sandstone; and a similar slab firmly embedded in the roots of a tree on the northern side of the church may be another triglyph, or a metope slab. Other stones of the same material built into the walls of the church show square-headed cramp marks. These are the only examples within Aetolia proper of such architectural members, so far as I know. A small temple certainly stood in ancient times on the hill-top, on the site now occupied by the church. Below the church, on the eastern side of the peak, we find the wall again on its descent towards the point at which the path from the village strikes it. Remains of

[1] Ἄνω Μποτίνου.

a square tower are visible on the slope. The wall is double, six feet thick, carefully built in good 'irregular Hellenic' style. The peasants report the discovery of small bronzes in the φρούριον or fortress. The inscriptions alleged to have been found from time to time near the village have all been ruthlessly destroyed, and the only surviving representative of them is the lower part of a stele with two rosettes. The local antiquarian asserted that the missing upper portion was inscribed with the name Ἀνδρόνικος [1].

There can be no serious doubt as to the identity of this kástro with the town of Akrai. The suitability of the name to this elevated peak, or group of peaks, which forms as prominent an object on the south of the lake as does the hill of Vlochós on the north; the situation of the kástro relatively to that of Morósklavon, corresponding to what is known respecting the relative positions of Akrai and Metapa; lastly, the way in which it lies off the natural highway, which passes nearer the lake, along the base of the hills,—all these things combine to render the identification unassailable [2]. Why Dr. Lolling should have located Akrai upon the hill of Vlochós is a mystery [3]. He seems to have been guided entirely by the signification of the ancient name. The suggestion is the more curious as coming from the only man who has ever guessed the true position of Thermon. Whatever else Vlochós may be, no possible system of interpretation can assign to it the name of Akrai.

Stephanus, in mentioning the town Ellopion, refers to the

[1] Probably it really was Ἀνδρονίκου. Some of the stones were described as very large, and quite covered with lettering: these must, undoubtedly, have possessed considerable value. My informant bears the name Ζωγράφος.

[2] From it by way of corollary there follows an immediate and quite satisfactory answer to the question as to the motive of the détour by Akrai. The movement was made in order to turn the dangerous defile immediately under Phytaion (Palaiochóri). No detachment had been left to guard that passage, and the king might well fear to find it blocked.

[3] In Müller's *Handbuch*. iii. 140: 'Diese Hochburg wurde wie es scheint Akrä genannt.' It is strange to find Bazin apparently quite unaware of the very existence of the kástro of Botínu. This, of course, constitutes a further difficulty in the way of accepting his topography; for what name would he give to these ruins? They lie too near the road to be left without recognition.



LAKE TRICHONIS, WITH THE HILL OF VLOCHOS AND MOUNT VIENA IN THE DISTANCE
FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MATARANGA.

eleventh book of Polybios[1]. It would appear from this that the name of Ellopion occurred in connexion with the second invasion of Aetolia, and it excites surprise that we should find no hint of its existence in the account of the first inroad. Possibly it did not lie on the direct line of the advance and retreat, and so was not visited on that occasion. If we examine the circumstances of the second invasion we might, indeed, feel inclined to think that the town stood on the northern shore of the lake. In 218 B.C. the attack was from the west, but in 206 B.C. it was from the north. This we learn from Livy[2], who tells us that Philip bribed Amynander to give him free passage through Athamania into Aetolia. If the king followed this northern route throughout, the loss of the passage in Polybios is the more to be regretted. We have, however, little doubt that, although entrance into Aetolia was effected by way of Athamania and Dolopia[3], the actual advance on Thermon was by the familiar route along the south of the lake. We argue this, firstly, from the fact that the southern road is much easier than the other, where the narrower strip of level ground by the lake, together with the projecting spurs of Mount Viéna each provided with a strong fortress,—Vlochós, Paravóla, Soboníkos,—made disaster more likely to happen. Secondly, with the exception of that of Ellopion, no new name seems to have occurred in the lost passage, whereas the names of the three fortresses above mentioned, with others of smaller note, must certainly have been recorded if the northern road had been chosen. Lastly, there is the presumption that Phytaion, which is also quoted by Stephanus from the eleventh book of Polybios, occurred in the same connexion as Ellopion.

These three considerations decide us to adopt the conclusion that the operations of the second invasion took place over the ground already traversed in the first inroad, and

[1] Steph. Byz. Ἐλλόπιον, πόλις Αἰτωλίας. Πολύβιος ια'. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἐλλοπιεύς.

[2] Livy, xxxvi. 31: Philippi Macedonum regis Zacynthus fuerat; eam mercedem Amynandro dederat, ut per Athamaniam ducere exercitum in superiorem partem Aetoliae liceret. Qua expeditione fractis animis, Aetolos compulit ad petendam pacem.

[3] The line of advance must have been through Aperantia and the country of the Thesticis, emerging upon the central plain under the walls of Vlochós. See p. 46.

that Ellopion must be looked for on the southern route. And we have, in fact, one site as yet unnamed among those described in the district of the Apókuro. That is the kástro called Mesovúni, on the hills to the south-east of Upper Morósklavon. This site lies sufficiently remote from the road to Thermon to have escaped Philip's arm in 218 B.C., and yet not too remote to have been visited and destroyed in the more deliberate and thorough-going invasion twelve years later[1].

[1] The view here taken of the route of the two inroads is thus quite in harmony with the fact of the poor preservation of the fortresses on the S. of Lake Trichonis, as contrasted with the much superior condition of the kástra on the N. shore.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Thermon[1].

A CHAPTER OF CRITICISM.

The final vindication of the conclusions reached in the foregoing Chapter comes through criticism of the theories put forward by earlier writers on Aetolian topography.

All systems dealing with Central Aetolia may be classified in two ways,—by reference to the site to which the name Thermon is given, or by reference to the route assigned to the invaders. From the time of Pouqueville to the present day, most writers on the subject have unhesitatingly placed Thermon at Vlochós. This identification has the support of the great name of Leake. Becker, who had no first-hand knowledge of the country, and Bazin, who had, also adopt this view. Bursian set aside the tradition, and suggested a site on the east of the lakes, namely the palaiókastron of Petrochóri[2]. The late Dr. Lolling was apparently the first to point out the true site, the Palaio-bazári of Kephalóvryson. It is, however, only fair to say that Bursian and Lolling were partially anticipated by Kruse, who, in 1827, suggested that Thermon should be sought in the Apókuro, the district to the east and south-east of Lake Trichonis; he combined this with the idea that Philip's line of march lay to the north of the lakes[3].

[1] ὁ Θέρμος, or τὸ Θέρμον. Polybios usually gives the latter; but the former has generally been adopted by English writers, because they use the name in a Latin form. Strabo, p. 463 (the only passage in which he mentions Thermon), has the plural: ἐν Θέρμοις τῆς Αἰτωλίας. I believe that there he is actually copying Ephoros; cf. p. 282, *note* 4.

[2] Burs. *Geogr.* i. 136.

[3] See his *Hellas, oder geographisch-antiquarische Darstellung des alten Griechenlands.*

It is clear from an examination of the map of Central Aetolia that, wherever we may locate Thermon, only four routes were open to the Macedonians:—

(1). That going directly across the plain, towards the north-east, keeping the lakes upon the right flank.

(2). The road along the southern shore of the lakes, keeping them upon the left, until Kephalóvryson or Vlochós is reached.

(3). A route following the southern shore of the lake of Anghelókastron, and passing between it and Lake Trichonis by the ancient representative of the causeway of Alí-bey to Vlochós.

(4). Through the plain north of the lake of Anghelókastron, across the causeway, and then along the southern shore of Lake Trichonis.

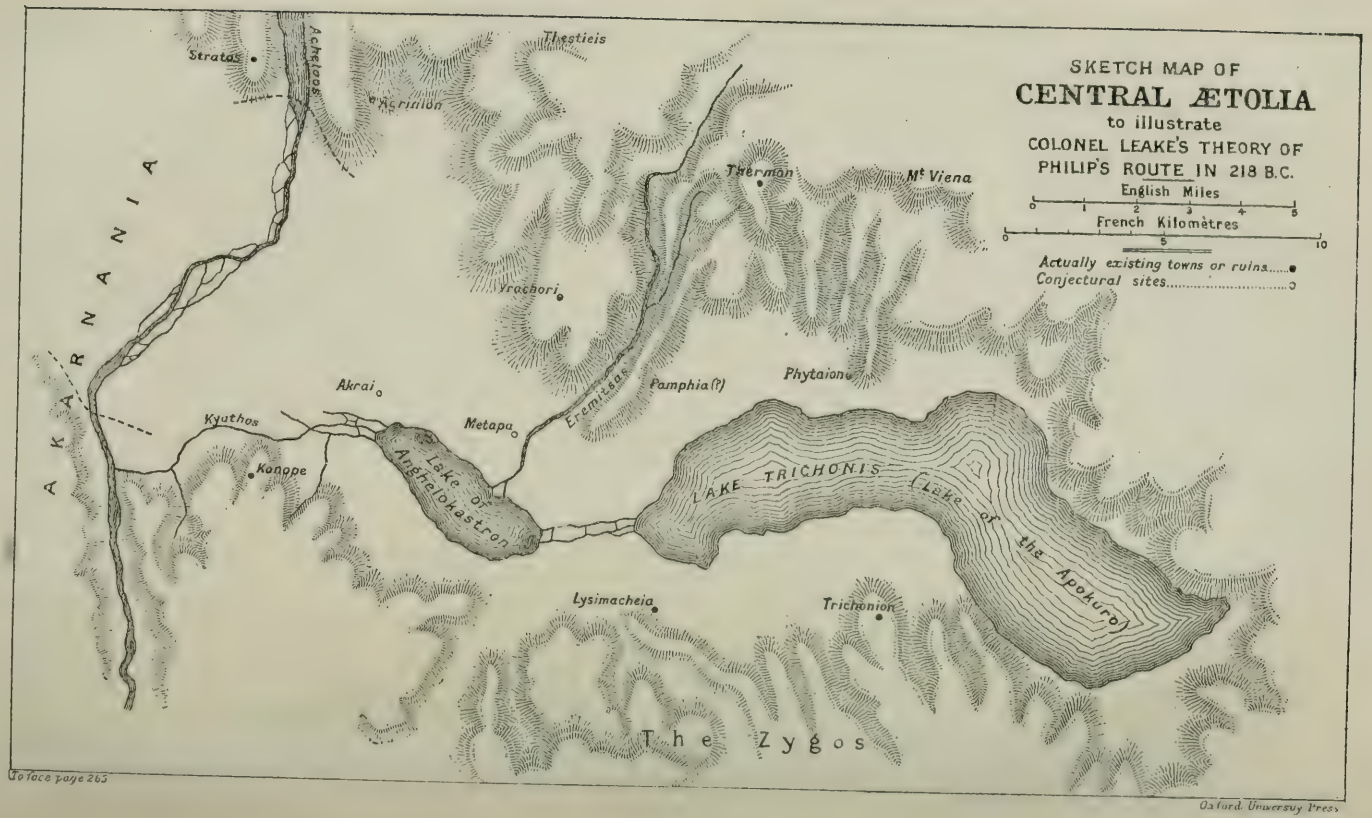
This last possibility, however, may be at once dismissed, as it has never been upheld by any topographer.

We get, then, a classification of the theories under three heads. Leake maintains the first possibility; Pouqueville, Bursian, and Bazin, the second; Becker the third. The adoption of either the first or the third alternative is conjoined naturally with the acceptance of Vlochós as the capital; the second route implies a site on the east of the lake. Bazin, however, reverts to the *contaminatio* suggested by Pouqueville, for he takes the Macedonians round by the south of the lakes, though their goal is Vlochós. His hypothesis is an example of topographical atavism.

The affinities of the principal theories are exhibited in the following Table:—

		Route proposed.	*Site of Thermon.*
1827.	Kruse.	North of lakes.	Site on east of Trichonis.
1835.	Leake.	do.	Vlochós.
1845.	Becker.	South and Causeway.	do.
1861.	Bazin.	South of lakes.	do.
1862.	Bursian.	do.	Petrochóri.
1879.	Lolling.	(No statement.)	Kephalóvryson.

We have chiefly to deal with the hypotheses of Leake and Bazin, who agree in placing Thermon at Vlochós but differ fundamentally in the route that they assign to the army. Our own theory is on both points diametrically



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opposed to that of Leake; with respect to the route it is in partial agreement with the system of the French topographer. Leake's authority is deservedly great, but he is seen at his worst in Central Aetolia; nor is the reason of his failure far to seek. The entire eastern half of the central basin was to him quite unknown. He was thus compelled to attack the problem with only partial knowledge, and this in the end forced him into antagonism with the literary authority. It would have been a miracle if success had crowned an attempt made under such circumstances.

Leake's position is as follows[1]. The Macedonians had made a forced night-march from Limnaia to the Acheloos. They could not, therefore, next day undertake the vast détour along the southern shore of the lakes and round by their eastern end to Vlochós; or, if they had chosen this road, they could not have reached their destination at the comparatively early hour implied in the narrative of Polybios. Although it was 'late in the day,' the troops, after making all necessary arrangements for the night, had yet time to plunder the neighbouring villages and the plain of Thermon. Philip, therefore, must have passed to the north of the lakes, by the direct road from the Acheloos to Vlochós.

How then does Leake arrange the towns along this route? He is sufficiently vague in his topography, but the result seems to be this. As regards the towns on the left hand and those on the right, as far as and including Trichonion, he is in agreement with the results adopted in the foregoing pages. It is true that he was unaware of the site of Agrinion, but that has no bearing upon the present question. Phytaion 'answers to the ruined polis at Kúvelo,' i. e. Paravóla[2]. Metapa is placed 'near the lake, immediately below Vrachóri[3].' Akrai is put at the point at which the river Kyathos issues from the lake of Konope[4]. Pamphia, we

[1] N. G. i. 150. A view practically identical with that of Leake is put forward by Lieut.-Gen. A. Jochmus in the *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxvii. (1857), p. 1 fol. The writer was Captain on the Staff of Sir R. Church in Greece, and was subsequently in the Bavaro-Greek War Office. His topography is illustrated by a good map, but his paper does not give us a high opinion of his capacity as a military man: in some instances he is betrayed into ludicrous mis-statements of fact.

[2] N. G. i. 155.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 151.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 154.

notice, fails to find a place. The whole of this route lies across the plain, with the exception of the last five or six miles between Paravóla and Vlochós. The total length of the circuit, measuring from the ford, is between fifteen and twenty-two miles. Leake supposes[1] the army to have been delayed at Metapa and Pamphia by the necessity of putting detachments into those places, and also all along the line of march by the devastating operations, so that it was two o'clock in the afternoon before Thermon was reached.

It is difficult to find any point of real contact between this hypothesis and the narrative upon which it is supposed to be based. Polybios asserts that Philip had on his right hand the towns Konope, Lysimacheia, Trichonion, and Phytaion. On the theory of Leake the first two are indeed on the right of the army, but we fail to understand why they should have been mentioned at all, seeing that the lake of Konope would have better answered the purpose of defining the route. In the case of Trichonion (Gavalú) and Phytaion (Paravóla) this applies with still greater force. The army must be supposed to have turned towards the north-east from the mouth of the Eremítsas. It was at that moment not standing in any really intelligible relation to either of the two towns: they are too far distant to enter into the narrative for the special purpose for which they are introduced. We should, again, naturally infer from Polybios that both Trichonion and Phytaion had been passed before the army reached Metapa. If Metapa is to be put down near the mouth of the Eremítsas, as Leake imagines[2], it is clear that a considerable time would elapse, *after leaving Metapa*, before Phytaion (Paravóla) could stand upon the right flank of the army.

When we come to the minutiae of the account in Polybios, and ask how far their truth is realized on Leake's hypothesis, we fail to find any single feature of identity. 'The whole shore of the lake,' says Polybios[3], 'is mountainous and rugged, closely fringed with forest, and therefore affording but a narrow and difficult path.' This is by no means the case on the north of the lakes, at least between the Áspro and the ruins at Paravóla. A level expanse, at the present

[1] N. G. i. 149.

[2] *Ibid.*: 'Metapa stood about the junction of the river Ermítza with the lake.'

[3] Pol. v. 7.

day but sparsely covered with trees, extends between the lakes and the Lykorákia hills which rise above Vrachóri. This belt of plain is of irregular breadth, being widest towards the west, and gradually contracting as we approach the foot-hills of Viéna, which at Paravóla almost close the passage. Below Vrachóri and Vlochós it varies in breadth from twelve to at least twenty stades. Nowhere do we find anything to remind us of the expression 'mountainous and rugged[1]' used by Polybios. Leake passes over this difficulty, and confines himself to the words 'closely fringed with forest[2].' He supposes that in those days the shores of the lake were clothed with forest, through which there was a narrow path. We must, however, point to the fact that, although the forest might disappear in the course of time, the rugged mountainous features mentioned by Polybios are practically eternal. Nor are we inclined to admit very readily the assumption that in 218 B.C. a dense forest covered the whole plain below Vrachóri. The central Aetolian basin was at that time thickly inhabited; a circle of strong towns and perhaps many villages,—we know that there were villages round Thermon,—enclosed the two lakes and the plain. Now, if the whole plain was then a forest, how account for the populousness of the district? It was upon the plain that the people depended for their sustenance, unless, indeed, we are to believe the silly fable of the Messenians[3], and to picture the Aetolians as wandering half-savage over the hills and through the woods, like the Red-skins of America,—an idea utterly at variance with the existence of the strongly fortified towns that stood upon every spur of the mountains round the lakes. Leake's idea of the state of the country at the time of the invasion seems to be essentially false.

When applied to the southern shore of the lakes the description given by Polybios is found to be perfectly accurate[4]. We still have the spurs of the Zygós encroach-

[1] Pol. v. 7: ὀρεινὸς καὶ τραχύς.

[2] *Ibid.* συνηγμένος ταῖς ὕλαις.

[3] Thuc. iii. 94.

[4] It would, of course, be hypercritical to insist that the expression '*the whole* shore of the lake' (πᾶς ὁ παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τόπος) must include the northern shore of the two lakes. Polybios can be describing only that along which the army marched, i.e. either the northern or the southern shore,—the latter according to our view.

ing upon the narrow belt of flat land on the margin of the lakes. When the forest, of which we see the remnants, covered the slopes down to the water, the path must indeed have been 'narrow and difficult.' Of course, the difficulties of the road varied in degree. From Konope to the mouth of the Kleisúra, that is to say along the whole length of the lake of Anghelókastron, the words of Polybios apply without reservation. The modern path traverses the narrow strip between the Zygós and the water, and the woods still come down to the very edge of the lake: but between the Kleisúra and the site of Trichonion the hills, receding southwards, leave a somewhat broader belt of flat ground at their foot. Beyond Gavalú, until we reach the plain at the head of the lake, the physical difficulties reappear in an aggravated form, for there is absolutely no strip of level ground intervening between the hills and the water. Judged fairly and honestly, Polybios has described the southern road quite accurately.

The theory of Leake is thus in opposition to the natural features of the ground. It also runs counter to the plain statement of our only authority. It is clear that in advancing from the Áspro to Vlochós by Leake's route the army must have had the lake on the right flank, whereas Polybios says that the lake was on the left[1]. No complications of direction can change this fact, and Leake is compelled to tamper with the words of his author. He declares[2] that by the negligence of the copyist the word *εὐωνύμων* (left) has been substituted for *δεξιῶν* (right). It is entirely in the interests of his hypothesis that this emendation is suggested; there is not the slightest justification for it in the state of the text. It is quite beside the mark to advert to the frequency of such errors in manuscripts. What we demand, is positive evidence that this passage is a case in point. Such evidence is entirely wanting, and, seeing that the change would involve us in difficulties and contradictions insuperable, we may well hesitate before consenting to take so serious a step.

We must ask how it was that the Macedonians were compelled to march so quickly, and why in spite of their

[1] Pol. v. 7: *τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς πορείας ἠσφάλισθ' ἡ λίμνη σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα στάδια.*

[2] N. G. i. 151.

exertions they did not reach Thermon until a late hour, although they stood on the banks of the Acheloos as morning dawned[1]. Here also Leake's reply is out of harmony with his authority. In order to account for the time consumed on the fifteen or twenty miles that lie between the Áspro and Vlochós, he points to the devastations of the invaders and to the delay caused by throwing detachments into Metapa and Pamphia. Is it not evident that Philip, before starting, would have selected the corps destined for garrisoning the towns and those for the purpose of wasting the fields? When we read of the care he exercised in choosing his guides, and in making inquiries about the country[2], we cannot believe that he would leave these details to work themselves out hap-hazard. No one knew better than Philip the true character of the venture he was making[3], or how essential to its success it was to have everything arranged before he crossed the frontier. The objective point of the expedition was Thermon itself, and he had to guard against the possibility of this being lost sight of by the men[4]. This danger could only be met by keeping the troops well in hand every step of the march. We may be quite sure, therefore, that the task of burning the crops, and of otherwise doing damage, was not entrusted to the whole force indiscriminately, but to special flying corps of light infantry. Likewise, the troops left in possession of the keys of the defile would be detailed with rapidity and precision in accordance with instructions previously given. The estimate of the delay arising from those two causes may safely be reduced to a minimum. And we may note, in passing, that, according to Polybios, the loss of time was due, not to those subsidiary operations, but to the badness of the road.

Even when he has a free hand in estimating the amount of retardation, Leake cannot bring himself to say that the Mace-

[1] Pol. v. 6: ἅρτι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιφαινούσης.

[2] *Id.* v. 5: 'He himself collected the guides, and made careful inquiries of them about the country and neighbouring towns.'

[3] Cf. Pol. v. 14. After reaching Limnaia, Philip 'proceeded to make a thank-offering to the gods for the successful issue of his undertaking. . . . His view was that he had ventured upon a dangerous country, and such as no one had ever before ventured to enter with an army.'

[4] It is quite clear that all concerned were aware of the object of the inroad.

donians arrived at Thermon later than two o'clock in the afternoon. Yet that is not the 'advanced hour' of Polybios [1]. Interpreting that expression without any preconceptions, we could not take it to indicate anything earlier than five o'clock, or thereabouts. Though he retards the army to the fullest possible extent, Leake thus finds himself in opposition to the historian as to the hour of arrival at the capital; and, in addition, his position is entirely at variance with that of Polybios. The ancient account amounts to this:—the way was long and difficult, and this, along with incidental stoppages, compelled the army to march at its best pace; yet in spite of its exertions it was late in reaching Thermon. On Leake's hypothesis what is said is this:—the way was in reality short, but the army was so much hindered on the march that it was two o'clock in the afternoon before the destination was reached. Reduced thus to their simplest form, the two accounts are obviously quite incompatible [2].

The return march furnishes us with additional objections to the hypothesis which we are criticizing. On the first day of retreat Philip withdrew from Thermon to Metapa; on the second to Akrai. On the third he moved to Konope. It was only on the fifth day that he marched up the Acheloos, and finally quitted Aetolia by the ford in the neighbourhood of Stratos. Now Leake, though he expresses himself with some reserve, puts Akrai at the point at which the Kyathos issues from the lake of Anghelókastron. We fail, however, to understand why the Macedonians, after their previous short stage from Vlochós to Metapa (the mouth of the Eremítsas, according to Leake), should have spent a whole day in passing over the three miles between Metapa and the point indicated as Akrai, and yet another day in traversing the three miles between Akrai and Konope. Then, again,

[1] Pol. v. 8: ἦκε πολλῆς ὥρας ἐπὶ τὸν Θέρμον. Note that the expedition took place in the latter part of summer (probably July or August). But the arrival at Thermon must have been calculated for at least an hour, probably two hours, before sunset, i.e. the disappearance of the sun below the horizon, not the commencement of darkness. In Greece, of course, the period of twilight is of very short duration.

[2] Or we may put it in this way. Polybios implies that the march was a record one: the rate could not be beaten. Leake implies that the army could have done much better, or at any rate that it ought to have done so.

what was Philip's idea in visiting Konope at all? We do not read of any operations having been undertaken in its vicinity, and the movement was certainly not made on account of the ford, because the army subsequently marched northwards in order to cross the river. This being so, how was it that Philip did not take the direct route from Metapa to the Acheloos? The advance from Metapa to Akrai and thence to Konope, and finally to the ford, is, on Leake's hypothesis, a détour over which three entire marching days were consumed, whereas the direct road from the mouth of the Eremítsas to the Áspro measures only from seven to ten miles. Not a word is found in Polybios to explain these difficulties, nor does Leake endeavour to supplement his account. Are we not justified in maintaining that for Polybios they did not exist, because he had no such route in his mind as that suggested by the English topographer?

Finally, we must draw attention to the fact that no vestige of an ancient town is to be seen, either at the point at which Leake places Akrai, or in the low ground near the mouth of the Eremítsas, where he supposes Metapa to have stood. For Pamphia no site is even suggested; but it is beyond question that there are no ruins to correspond to it in the plain below Vlochós, where alone they could be sought on Leake's view of the topography. We must remember that to Leake himself this could not appeal as an objection. It is ninety years since he penetrated Aetolia; he could not tell what the future might reveal in the way of remains in the parts which he had not explored. We, however, know with certainty that no traces of towns are found where Leake imagined that they might exist. We must direct our search elsewhere.

It is time to turn to the examination of a second hypothesis, that of Becker[1]. Becker's idea is that Philip marched along the southern shore of the lake of Anghelókastron; that then, turning between the two lakes, he traversed the causeway of Alí-bey, or rather its ancient representative, and so ascended to Vlochós. We have already thrown out the conjecture that in ancient times the appearance of the central basin of

[1] Becker, *Diss.* i. 27 fol.

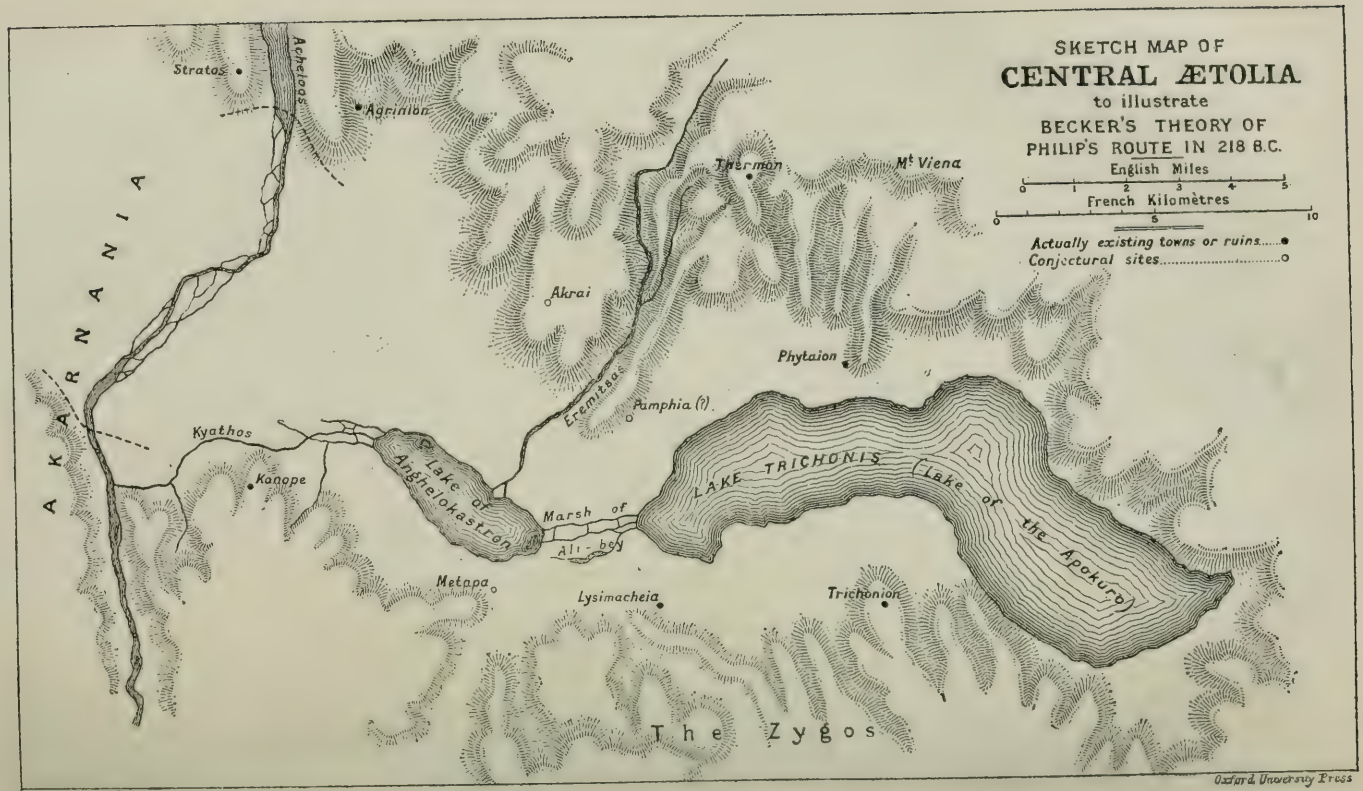
Aetolia differed somewhat from that with which we are now familiar. As we nowhere find in an ancient author the distinct and positive statement that the basin contained two separate lakes, it seems within the bounds of possibility that originally but one sheet of water existed in the plain. If this were found to have been the case in historical times, Becker's hypothesis would be disproved at the outset.

As respects his distribution of the towns on the route, Becker is as unsatisfactory as Leake. He puts Metapa[1] either not far from Pappadhátais, or at some point more to the west along the southern shore of the lake of Anghelókastron. With regard to Konope, Lysimacheia, and Trichonion, he agrees with the results established by Leake. He also places Phytaion at Kúvelos (Paravóla), and, like Leake, he altogether omits the name of Pamphia. In the case of Akrai he has a theory of his own: he puts it at Vrachóri. He supposes the Macedonians to have retreated to Metapa across the land lying between the lakes, and next day, because they had already wasted the country between that town and Konope, to have made a retrograde movement to the northern side of the lake, in order to ravage the plain belonging to Akrai[2].

Some of the objections to be urged are identical with those already brought against the theory of Leake. Becker's theory, like Leake's, does not give its natural sense to the statement concerning the position of Trichonion and Phytaion on the right of the army. We hold it to be incontrovertible that those two towns had been left far in the rear by the time that Metapa was reached; whereas, according to

[1] Becker, *Diss.* i. 30: 'quam haud procul ab eo loco abfuisse puto, quo nunc Papadates vicus est, vel paulo infra potius in ipsa Hydrae lacus ora australi, ita ut fauces triginta stadia longae inter ipsam pontemque intercederent.' Becker gives the name Hydra to the lake of Anghelókastron: the 'pons' is the causeway.

[2] *Ibid.* 'Macedonas tunc demum fertilissimum campum, qui in laeva Hydrae lacus parte est, devastasse, veri est simillimum; neque impedit quidquam, quo minus eos per fauces easdem regressos ipsum lacum circumiisse putemus, quum alterum tertiumque diem in hoc opere consumerent. In hoc igitur campo et, quod nomen urbis ipsum docet, in edito saxosoque loco Acras fuisse conditas puto, neque alium video ad haec omnia magis convenire, quam eum, quo nunc Vrachori urbs sita est.'



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Becker's disposition of the names, not only Trichonion, as well as Phytaion, but Lysimacheia also, occurs *after* Metapa.

Again, our criticism on the position which Leake assigns to Akrai and on the course which he imagines the invaders to have taken in their retreat applies with even greater force to Becker's hypothesis. Not a syllable appears in the text of Polybios to suggest the strange vacillation of which, upon Becker's hypothesis, the foremost general in Greece was guilty. We are expressly told that a garrison was thrown into Metapa in order to ensure the safe passage of the army through the defile in both directions. What then was the object of returning to Metapa on the first day of the retreat and of combining with its garrison, only to march next day for the third time through the pass, thus facing once more the possibility of disaster at the hands of the enraged militia of Alexander the Trichonian? Not content with this risk, Philip spends a whole day between Akrai and Konope, that is, according to Becker, between Vrachóri and Anghelókastron, and another day between Konope and the ford by which he crossed into Akarnania. Could anything be more aimless than this marching and countermarching over the plain on the part of the plunder-laden army? It is, in addition, quite irreconcileable with the historian's distinct assertion that the route of the return was the same as that of the advance [1].

A special objection to the theory arises out of the question of the lake. Becker has correctly perceived that the route must lie to the south of the lake, but he has overlooked the fact that, according to Polybios, Metapa stood 'on the borders of Lake Trichonis [2].' Inevitably, therefore, if Metapa is to be located as Becker supposes, the lake of Anghelókastron must be identified with Lake Trichonis. The same result follows from the statement about the lake being on the left of the army. It was certainly the Trichonian lake that stood in this relation to the troops; yet, on Becker's hypothesis, no other lake than that of Anghelókastron is on the left of the route. Nevertheless, he admits that Trichonion itself stood at Gavalú, which is a long way to the east of his route, on the borders of the larger lake, and out of all relation to that of

[1] Pol. v. 13: *ποιούμενος τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπάνοδον ἥ καὶ παρεγένετο.*

[2] *Id.* v. 7: *ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Τριχωνίδος λίμνης.*

Anghelókastron [1]; but not a word is said by way of explanation of this anomaly.

The root from which spring the errors of the hypotheses of Leake and Becker is the false identification of the capital of the League. The same misconception vitiates the system of Bazin, who had the supreme advantage of a knowledge of the sites lying round the eastern end of the greater lake. He imagines the Macedonians to have followed the road suggested in this treatise, as far as Petrochóri. From that place they continued their march in a north-westerly direction, by way of Gurítsa and Soboníkos, up the slopes of Mount Viéna to Vlochós.

The length of the entire circuit cannot be estimated at less than forty-two or forty-five miles [2], nearly three times the length of the route chosen by Leake. Bazin himself reckons it at 'nearly sixty-five kilomètres'; but he is wrong in saying that 'more than half the road lies through the plain[3].' The level ground practically ceases a short distance east of Gavalú, and then, with the exception of the small plain at the head of the lake, the road becomes ever more difficult as we advance. This is a fact which cannot be dismissed with the simple assertion that 'the remainder of the road was nothing to Macedonians and Akarnanians, mountaineers inured to fatigue.' We must bear in mind that they had marched all through the previous night, accomplishing twenty-five miles, according to Leake's estimate[4], without a break, except for the short halt at the end of the first sixty stades from Limnaia.

With the dawn of day the troops reached the ford of the Áspro: between three and four o'clock in the morning will

[1] *Diss.* i. p. 31: 'Leakii igitur sententiam probo, qui in dextra majoris lacus ora eam collocat, ubi planities fertilissima satisque magna e pontis regione, de quo diximus, orientem versus patet.'

[2] Sixty-five kilomètres are almost exactly forty English miles. But that is the distance measured in an air-line. The actual marching-distance, along Bazin's route, cannot be less than forty-two or, more probably, forty-five miles.

[3] *Mém.* p. 337: 'près de soixante-cinq kilomètres, dont plus de la moitié est en plaine; le reste du chemin n'était fait pour retarder ni les Macédoniens ni les Acarnaniens, montagnards endurcis à la fatigue.'

[4] N. G. i. 148. His estimate is perhaps slightly in excess of the truth.

be a fair interpretation of the expression of Polybios[1]. We have already decided that the arrival at Thermon did not occur earlier than five o'clock in the afternoon. Thirteen hours, therefore, can be allowed for the march and the operations on the road. Bazin allows only two hours for these operations; but that is too little, for there would be considerable delay at the Acheloos, and a total discount of two hours in a march of forty-five miles is scarcely sufficient. If we allow three hours for incidental delays, we are left with ten for the actual march; this is what Bazin himself gives, for he puts the arrival at the Acheloos as late as five o'clock in the morning. The marching rate thus works out at four, or four and a half, miles per hour,—far too much[2]. After the work done the previous night, the men, however lightly equipped, could not have kept up that rate for ten consecutive hours, and yet at the end have possessed the energy to sack the villages in the plain of Thermon; especially as this latter operation will be found, on Bazin's theory, to involve an extra half-dozen miles' tramp.

In making our estimate of the rate of marching, we ought not to confine our consideration merely to the distance from point to point; the general character of the road must be taken into account, in accordance with what Polybios tells us

[1] Bearing in mind the season at which the expedition was made: see p. 270, *note* 1.

[2] Cf. Major-General Hamley, *The Operations of War*, 4th ed. 1878, p. 32: 'In small detached bodies, infantry average $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles an hour; field-artillery, $3\frac{1}{2}$; cavalry and horse-artillery, 5, inclusive of halts of a few minutes. The rate decreases as numbers increase. A division marching on one road can seldom do more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, and a corps not more than 2 miles. For a division of all arms, 15 miles is a fair average march; 15 to 20 miles a long march; and above 20 miles a forced march. A large army marching continuously seldom covers more than 10 or 11 miles a day, measured on the map from point to point.' He gives instances of rapid marches in modern times. See App. II.

From Pol. v. 2, we find that at the beginning of the campaign of 218 B.C. Philip had with him 6000 Macedonians and 1200 mercenaries. For the Aetolian expedition there joined him the Illyrian levy (Pol. v. 4), and a 'full levy' of the Akarnanians (*ibid.* chap. 6); so that the expeditionary force cannot have been far short of 10,000 men. So far as numbers are concerned, therefore, the king took with him to Thermon a force about equal to an English Division: and three miles per hour would be a fair rate of speed to allow.

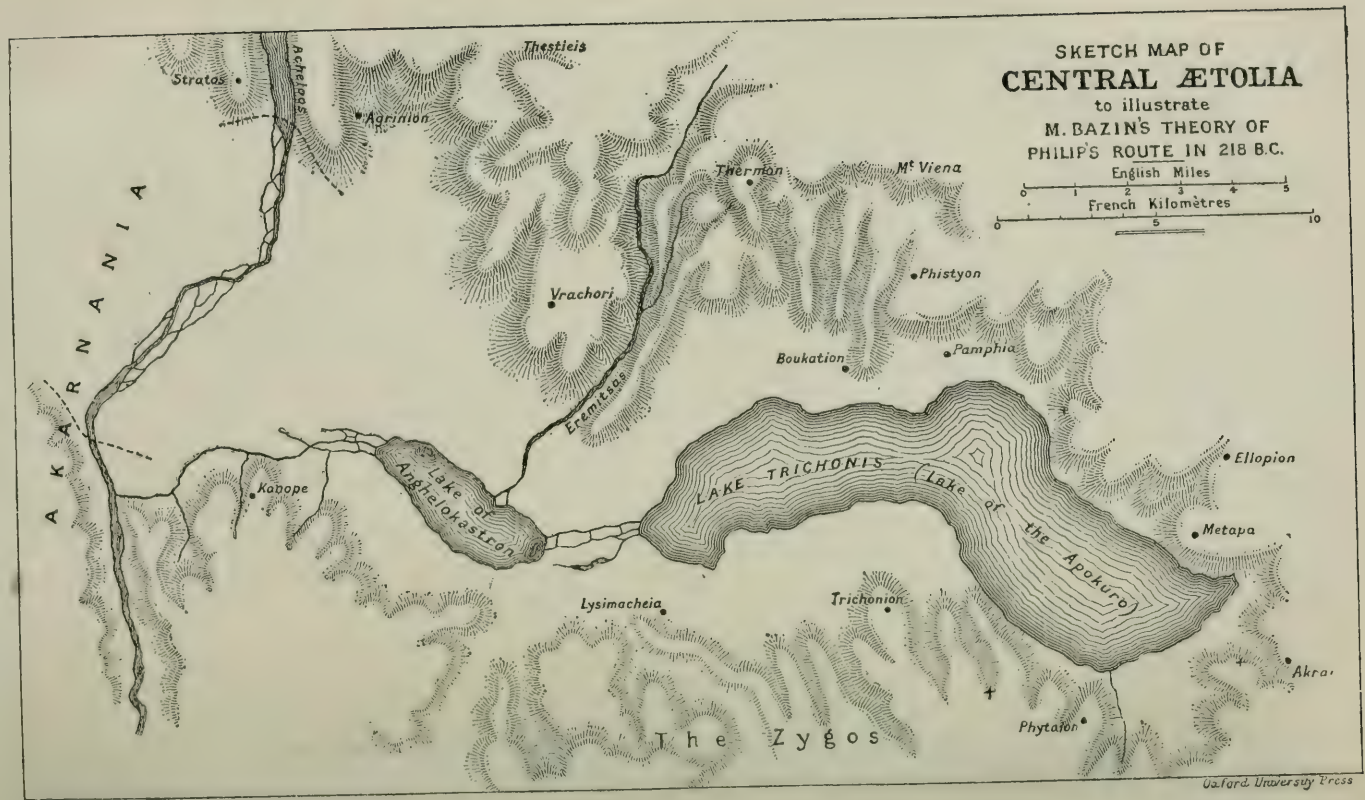
about it,—namely, that the whole shore of the lake was rugged and covered with trees, so that the track was narrow and difficult. And, as the men advanced, the difficulties with which they had to contend became intensified. For quite two thirds of the route a rate of anything like four miles an hour was impossible.

It is a fatal defect in Bazin's theory that, as the last stage of the journey, he takes the Macedonians over the shoulder of Mount Viéna. Yet this distortion of the route is inevitable, since he identifies the kástro of Petrochóri with Metapa, and that of Soboníkos with Pamphia [1]. Of the intermediate kástro of Gurítsa he has no knowledge, nor can we imagine how he would have dealt with it had he been aware of its existence. He could only have left it nameless, although that course would not be in harmony with the unmistakable minuteness of the ancient description of the Macedonian line of march. When the column had reached Pamphia (Soboníkos), the direct road to Vlochós would have taken it under the walls of the kástro of Paravóla, which Bazin, no doubt rightly, calls Boukation [2]. Bazin, therefore, must account for the omission of that important fortress from the list of those passed in succession by the invaders. This he proposes to do in the following manner. Philip, at Pamphia, 'quitte le lac Trichonis et pousse droit à Vlochos en passant entre le kastro de Kouvélo et celui de Krionéro. Dès qu'il les a laissés derrière lui, il faut qu'il s'engage dans le chemin dangereux qui traverse les hauts contre-forts de l'Arapoképhala, aussi peu praticables aujourd'hui qu'ils l'étaient du temps de Philippe, dégradés par les torrents et bordés de ravins profonds [3].' To talk of Philip as 'making straight for' Vlochós by crossing the end of Mount Viéna is misleading. If the object of the king was to reach his destination as quickly as possible, and that is beyond question [4], then it was foolishness to ascend and descend the mountain. The best route was surely that along the shore of the lake to Paravóla, an easier road and a shorter [5].

[1] *Mém.* p. 338. [2] See p. 196. [3] *Mém. l. c.*

[4] Pol. v. 6: σπεύδων ἄφνω καὶ παραδόξως ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς Θέρμοις τόπον ἐπιβαλεῖν.

[5] We expect from Bazin some explanation as to why the more difficult path was chosen. Was it in order to avoid the fortress of Paravóla at



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How does the theory of Bazin square with the distances given by Polybios? Pamphia was thirty stades from Thermon, i.e. some three and a half or four miles. Vlochós, however, is one hour and a half (nearly five miles) even from Paravóla[1]. The path from Soboníkos over Mount Viéna to Vlochós, if such path really existed, would not measure less than six miles, while it would take considerably more than the two hours to accomplish. Again, not only is the interval between Petrochóri and Soboníkos very much in excess of the thirty stades reported by Polybios between Metapa and Pamphia, but, as the crow flies, Petrochóri is more than ten miles from Vlochós, while the actual distance by road is much greater. Finally, the perils of the lower slopes of Araboképhalon, as sketched by Bazin, are largely imaginary. We find there no such dangerous precipices as are described by Polybios on the road to Thermon.

Bazin's hypothesis thus breaks down entirely on the advance, nor does it fare better when applied to the retreat. Philip retired from Metapa on the morning of the second day, and pitched his camp that night at Akrai. Akrai is identified, on Bazin's scheme[2], with the ruin below Kalúdhi; but it is really absurd to regard that tiny fort as marking the site of a town. And again, what name is it proposed to bestow upon the kástro near Morósklavon? It is simply in order to avoid the difficulty of accounting for the absence of the name of Akrai from the narrative of the advance that Bazin has selected the concealed and insignificant Kastráki to represent it; for most naturally we should expect to find him putting Akrai on the hill above Morósklavon. Yet he has no explanation to advance for the non-appearance of the latter kástro. Even if Akrai were rightly located by Bazin there is still a difficulty. It is at most a two hours'

the mouth of the pass? Yet that of Soboníkos had been successfully occupied,—apparently it was found deserted, like Thermon itself. Paravóla also had probably not a man within its walls.

[1] The Guide-Joanne, *Grèce*. ii. 75 (for Aetolia based upon Bazin's *Mémoire*), puts Vlochós two hours from Paravóla, and six hours and a half from Petrochóri. Yet it calls Petrochóri Metapa, which was only sixty stades ($7\frac{1}{2}$ miles) from Thermon!

[2] *Mém.* p. 338. On p. 322 he speaks of the ruins as 'la ville ou plutôt la bourgade fortifiée.'

ride from Petrochóri (Metapa) to the fort of Kalúdhi. Are we to believe that Philip consumed a whole day in traversing so short a distance? Is it a sufficient answer to say that the time was lost in sacking and burning Metapa? The kástro of Petrochóri does not seem to have belonged to as large a town as that would imply. We must ask a further question. Some two miles up the plain from the kástro of Petrochóri is the important Palaio-bazári of Kephalóvryson, identified by Bazin as the Ellopion that seems to have figured in the story of the second Macedonian invasion. How was it that the Macedonians did not make an excursion for the purpose of destroying the Palaio-bazári, seeing that they contemplated only the short stage to Akrai? That this was not done we infer from the silence of Polybios with regard to Ellopion on the occasion of this first invasion. Even if the Palaio-bazári is not Ellopion, and we of course cannot accept this identification, the objection holds good. We fail to perceive why this town, whatever its ancient name, should not have been mentioned. It was certainly of sufficient importance to have attracted the attention of the invaders[1].

Thus, taking the text of Polybios as it stands, we find that the hypothesis of Bazin contradicts it in essential points, and leaves other points in hopeless obscurity.

It will be remembered that our examination of the narrative of Polybios revealed a serious discrepancy. The picture which he gives, of a steep ascent, with precipices above and below it, was found to be put too near Thermon. Now, as we cannot too strongly insist, the proof of this discrepancy, and the correction which we made in order to remove it, are quite independent of our theory as to the true site of the Aetolian capital. We have, therefore, the right to compare Bazin's topography with our corrected text of Polybios: and the result is still more unfavourable to his hypothesis. Thermon lay in a plain: Vlochós is a hill in the midst of hills. The thirty stades between Metapa and Pamphia were the worst country encountered during the day: on Bazin's theory this is not the case, even though in desperation he

[1] Bazin himself, *Mem.* p. 339, confesses that this kástro 'commandait, avec celui de Pétrochori, la route de Thermus':—albeit the statement is inaccurate, for the kástro of Kephalóvryson was not a fortress at all. See p. 283, *note* 2.

takes the army up the slopes of Viéna. Again, those thirty stades formed a steep ascent, on which the peltasts lay in wait in order to cover the retreat of the rear-guard. Such ascent cannot be discovered between Petrochóri and Soboníkos. The broken ground above the eastern end of the lake falls steadily from the kástro of Petrochóri to the level of the lake itself at Soboníkos.

We marvel at the persistence of the view that Thermon was at Vlochós on the part of writers who have had an opportunity of examining the ground. It is due, it seems, to the strange predominance of the hill over its surroundings, impressing the beholder like some strong personality. Even apart from considerations of the route, there are scattered hints sufficient to cause us to hesitate in accepting the traditional identification. It is somewhat surprising to find that neither Leake nor Bazin has adduced anything really material by which to connect Vlochós with Thermon. Allusions to the natural strength of the site, its central position, the magnitude of its fortifications, are nothing to the point[1]. 'Central position' is a vague phrase, nor is it apparent why that should be an argument for the identification of Vlochós as Thermon. Where are we told that Thermon was in the centre of Aetolia, or how often are peoples guided in their choice of a capital by this consideration? If 'central' merely means that the place gathered to itself all that was best and worst in Aetolian life, political, civil, and artistic, then we fail to find in the epithet any *point d'appui* for topography.

What do we get from Polybios with regard to the characteristics of Thermon? There is the mention of τὸ τῶν Θερμίων πεδίον. What is this plain, if Thermon is Vlochós? 'Is it not,' says Bazin[2], 'that which extends between the lake and

[1] Leake, N. G. i. 151: 'the description of Polybius, but still more the magnitude of the ruins, leaving scarcely a reasonable doubt on this head.' *Id.* ii. 626: 'the magnificent position of Thermus . . . strong in itself, central with regard to the whole province, and conveniently situated for commanding both the fertile plains of old Aetolia and the rude mountains of the Epictetus.' This description would be far more true of Trichonion, both geographically and historically.

[2] *Mém.* p. 332: 'La plaine ravagée par les soldats de Philippe, n'est-ce

the last slopes of the hill of Vlochós?' No, surely not. The level ground stretching westwards from Paravóla along the borders of the lake lies from two and a half to three and a half miles below the ruins: it takes a good hour to cover the distance. If the Macedonians did not reach Thermon before five o'clock in the afternoon,—and this Bazin himself admits,—there was no time left for the devastation of this plain[1]. Moreover, at the end of a seventy miles' march, accomplished in the twenty-four hours that had elapsed since they left Limnaia, the men would be in no humour for the additional five or seven miles involved in a descent to the plain and the toilsome return up the slopes to their quarters. If Thermon be identified with Palaiobázaro this difficulty vanishes, for that kástro is situated on the plain itself.

Again, where do Leake and Bazin find the περιοικίδας κώμας? Remains of the kind required are quite unknown below Vlochós in the direction of the lake. The only ruins in this direction are those at Paravóla, which are those not of a κώμη but of a first-class fortress. Round the Hellenikó of Kephalóvryson, however, there actually do exist at several points such remains of dependent hamlets as are indicated in the narrative.

Where, lastly, within the kástro of Vlochós, can we discover anything to recall the temples, porticoes, and houses, which Polybios mentions as existing in Thermon[2]? All these are seen within the enclosure of the Palaio-bazári, the very name of which is derived from the remains of its rectangular portico.

Apparently Leake alone has perceived how essentially Thermon differed from an ordinary Aetolian town, and he hoped to find some trace of the numerous works of art which had been gathered in forays from all parts of Greece and stored within its walls. Yet he is compelled to confess

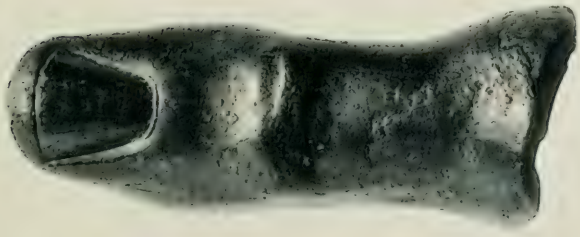
pas celle qui s'étend entre le lac et les dernières pentes du pic de Vlochos?'

[1] For it is obvious that some time must have been consumed in preparing for the night's stay in Thermon, before the troops could be allowed to disperse for plunder. Philip at any rate would not forget that he was bivouacking in the 'akropolis of Aetolia.'

[2] Cf. Leake, N. G. i. 135.



SITE OF PHANA; FROM THE NORTH. (SEE P. 141 FOL.)



BRONZE THUMB FROM THE PALAIO-BAZÁRI, KEPHALÓVRYSON. (NAT. SIZE.)

that he failed to discover at Vlochós either trace or tradition of art treasures[1]. It is true that he mentions[2] a beautiful but slightly mutilated bronze figure of Herakles, which was shown to him at Vrachóri as having been found at Vlochós; but Leake knew how little reliance can be placed upon the report of the peasant as to the find-spot of such works of art as he possesses. At Kephalóvryson, on the other hand, we have really authentic information with regard to finds upon the site. Fragments of works both in marble and in bronze are often picked up in its maize-fields. The bronze thumb already mentioned[3] is thus of considerable importance. It comes from a statue of life size. The workmanship is of the best, the joint well rendered, and the fold of skin at the base of the nail imitated with the refined realism characteristic of the Graeco-Macedonian age. The ball is indented as by the blow of a hammer. The fragment is a relic of the havoc wrought by the Macedonians among the 2000 statues of Thermon[4].

Thermon was, indeed, quite unlike a capital in the modern sense of the term. True, it was the meeting-place of the League, but the National Assembly met regularly but once a year. The great annual gathering was not entirely political. It was also partly mercantile, and partly after the manner of the festivals at Olympia and elsewhere[5]. We must regard Thermon as the National Agora round the temple of Apollo. During the intervals between the Assemblies the place would be practically deserted[6]. We certainly never find Thermon spoken of as a city. Philip is eager to cross the Acheloos and to march without delay ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς Θέρμοις τόπον,—a strange phrase if it were a city in the ordinary sense. Stephanus speaks of it only as a πολίχνιον,

[1] N. G. i. 135: 'I inquired in vain for medals, or other remains of antiquity.'

[2] *Ibid.* p. 125. [3] See p. 247. [4] Pol. v. 9.

[5] *Id.* v. 8: καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ ἔτος ἀγοράς τε καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιφανεστάτας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων καταστάσεις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ συντελούντων.

[6] *Ibid.* αἵ τε περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἰκίαι. These seem to have been rather storehouses than dwellings. Apollo Thermios is Apollo Thesmios, the Lawgiver. Cf. Paus. v. 15. 7, who says that he was worshipped by the Eleians. For the relationship of the Aetolians to the Eleians, see Paus. v. 4. 2.

for which he refers indefinitely to Polybios[1]. Nothing in this agrees with the site of Vlochós. We find there no place suitable for the political and festal gathering. On the other hand, the plain of Kephalóvryson is admirably adapted for all the varied business of the annual Panégyris: it possesses all the physical features characteristic of the sites chosen elsewhere in Greece for the celebration of the Games. Vlochós, again, is no *πολίχνιον*, but one of the largest cities in Aetolia: the Palaio-bazári is, on the contrary, barely half a mile in circuit. The at first sight somewhat mysterious remark of a Scholiast on the name Thermon is not without significance[2]. He says:—*τὸ Θέρμον ἐστὶν ὁ Λόγγος ὁ νῦν λεγόμενος*. The word *Λόγγος* we have come across already, in the name Mesolónghi. It means 'wilderness of wood,' 'jungle[3]': its application to Thermon seems to show that the site was deserted after the extinction of Aetolian freedom and that it became overgrown with forest. If Thermon never was a city in the proper sense, but merely a sacred National precinct, with a few inhabitants scattered round it in unwalled villages, it would surely happen that, twice destroyed, stripped of its hoards of arms and treasure, its ancient use at length quite abolished, the site would fall into desolation and decay[4]. In the case of Vlochós there is no antecedent probability of such a fate, for its ruins are those of a true city, which therefore would not necessarily die with the greatness of the nation.

Let us now see what there is to be gathered from the actual appearance of the two sites. Both are in certain respects

[1] Steph. Byz. *Θέρμος, πολίχνιον Αἰτωλίας, ὡς Πολύβιος. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Θέρμιος, καὶ τὸ κτητικὸν Θερμικός.*

[2] See Hultsch, *ad* Pol. v. 8: *ἦκε πολλῆς ὥρας ἐπὶ τὸν Θέρμον.* '*Post Θέρμον add. A extrema priore columna fol.* 240^{r}: *τὸ θέρμον ἐστὶν ὁ λόγγος ὁ νῦν λεγόμενος.*'

[3] See Du Fresne, *Glossarium*; Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*. Cf. p. 10.

[4] It is an interesting confirmation of this *à priori* reasoning to find a complete absence of all notice of Thermon on the part of Strabo. We cannot, of course, take account of the solitary passage (p. 463) in which the name occurs, for there he is merely quoting Ephoros in support of a certain historical statement. Strabo is evidently quite unable to adduce, at first hand, any monumental evidence. The decay of Thermon was already complete in his time; and had probably been so for at least half a century; cf. Justin. *Prol.* xxxiii.

unique among those of Aetolia. The situation of the Palaio-bazári on the small plain, highly desirable for the particular purposes for which Thermon was designed, is in harmony with the thoroughly non-military character of the capital. Its strength lay not in its own walls,—Polybios never hints at their existence,—but in the zones of fortresses barring every avenue of approach along the shores of the lakes. When these fell, Thermon lay at the mercy of the foe. In the kástro of Vlochós we noticed the unique character of the defensive system adopted,—that of lines *en crémaillère*. Although we have no other example in Aetolia of the exclusive employment of this mode, it is, nevertheless, one of the earliest methods of securing a flanking fire upon all parts of the works in 'continuous lines[1].' At the Hellenikó, on the other hand, we find a somewhat highly developed system, that of square towers connected by curtains[2]. In addition, we have a solitary example of a round tower in its lines. The round, or semicircular, tower came comparatively late in the history of the art of fortification in Greece, and in Aetolia very few examples of its use are found[3]. The Hellenikó thus ranks as a work of comparatively late date; and this also makes for its identification with Thermon. For Thermon was not a city, nor was it coëval with the cities of Aetolia. It sprang up to supply a need, the demand for a National meeting-place. This demand could only arise after the Aetolian tribes had constituted themselves a nation, by the creation of that Federal bond which united them all through their history[4].

Lastly, the few inscriptions yielded by the kástro of Kephalóvryson must be examined for any possible light.

[1] Cf. Leake, N. G. ii. 164.

[2] Note, however, that the absence of any wall along the base of the hill proves that the walls of the Palaio-bazári were not meant for defence. They are merely an elaborate peribolos; built, of course, on military principles, simply because the distinction between civil and military engineering was non-existent in Greece.

[3] At Sidheróporta it is exclusively employed, and furnishes a valuable argument for the identification of the site as that of Phána. We have examples also at Paravóla.

[4] The formation of the League is involved in obscurity, but it is not generally placed very early. I should be inclined to put it at least a century before the age of Alexander, the date commonly accepted.

At the capital we should naturally expect to find inscriptions relating to the public affairs of the League. The inscription of Melitaia, for example, affords positive evidence that copies of the League's decrees were set up at Thermon[1]. Unfortunately no excavation has yet been undertaken on the site, so that our inscriptions are but the poor remnants saved by chance from the hammer of the peasant; but the very fact that inscribed stones are discovered at Kephalóvryson is full of significance when we contrast the barrenness of the rival site.

Cousin, in 1886, published a fragment[2] which, he thought, finally disposed of the claim of the Palaio-bazári to be identified as Thermon. We cannot restore his copy, but we have first the letters ΝΙΟΙ, followed by the word στραταγέοντος. Cousin maintains that ·[ν]ιοι is the remains of an ethnic adjective, which, ending as it does, cannot possibly be restored as that of Thermon, nor yet as that of Ellopion, the identification proposed in Bazin's *Mémoire*[3]. It is strange to find a man arguing so positively from an inscription which he confesses can neither be restored nor yet copied with certainty[4]. The presence of the word στραταγέοντος seems to indicate that the inscription is one dated by the name of the Strategos of the League, and that, therefore, very little is missing of the opening words. Is it not possible that the stone has been misread, and that the letters ΝΙΟΙ are really ΘΕΟΙ, the invocation which frequently stands at the head of a decree? If so, the stone proves nothing.

Lolling's inscription[5] is more satisfactory. It is an affidavit of freedom bestowed by one Polyphron upon his nurse: —'She belongs to no man, but according to the Aetolians' laws is free in status and privilege.' He swears by Zeus, Earth, and Sun. This is not the usual Aetolian mode of emancipation, which was by means of a fictitious sale to

[1] Cauer, *Delectus*. p. 125. 6, *l.* 32: ἀναγραφήτω δὲ ταῦτα ἐν στάλας ἔν τε Μελιτείᾳ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ ἐν Καλυδῶνι καὶ ἐν Θέρμῳ. Cf. Fick (*Sammlung-Collitz*), Nos. 1412, 1413.

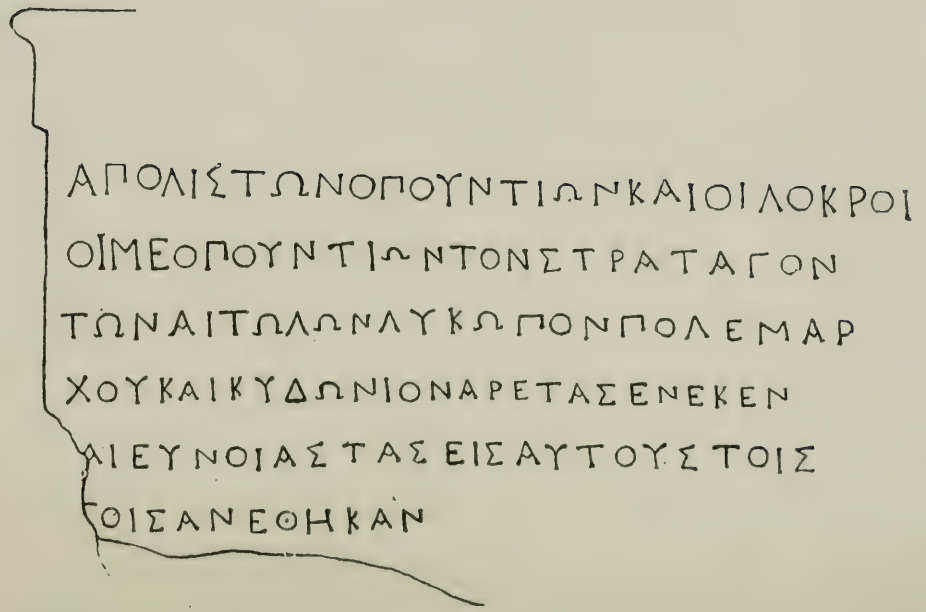
[2] See p. 246.

[3] *Mém.* p. 338.

[4] *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* x. 186: 'Nous n'essaierons pas de restituer cette inscription fort incomplète, et dont les lettres sont très incertaines; l'estampage est illisible.'

[5] See p. 245.

To face p. 285.



16. INSCRIPTION FROM THE PALAIO-BAZÁRI, KEPHALÓVRYSON.

Asklepios, Dionysos, or other deity. Nevertheless, this record gains its value just because it is not according to the customary mode; for the method of which it is an example is easily paralleled. It was the usual one at Dodona, for instance, where the formula is:—ὁ δεῖνα ἀφίητι (or ἀφῆκε) ἐλεύθερον τὸν δεῖνα, but the place of the ceremony is not given[1]. In the inscriptions from Elateia, Daulis, and Koroneia, the formula is:—ἐν ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀφίητι, or ἐν ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν συνέδρων[2]. The inscription before us is doubtless one of this class,—a solemn engagement before the assembled people or their official representatives. If so, the conclusion that the site is that of Thermon can hardly be avoided; for the stone would be erected at the place of the ceremony. It should also be noticed that the upper part of the block contained an illegible inscription, of which Lolling deciphered perhaps enough to show that it was a decree of the League[3].

Finally, we have the inscription published for the first time by myself[4]. It is a dedication made by the town of Opous and the Opountian Lokrians in gratitude to Lykopos, Strategos of the League. The date we do not know, but it may hereafter be fixed by evidence from Delphi[5]. The

[1] Cf. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, Plates xxx, 1–5; xxxi, 1–4; xxxii, 1.

[2] Bechtel (*Sammlung-Collitz*), No. 1532 = Curt. *Anec. Delph.* No. 39.

[3] *Mitth. d. arch. Inst.* iv. 222. He made out 'wohl der Überrest von κοι]νοῦ Αἰ[τωλῶν.'

[4] See p. 246.

[5] I will hazard the following combination. From Pol. xxi. 25, 26, we hear of a Lykopos who was sent on an embassy to Rome, in the spring of 189 B.C. Nine years previously, in 198 B.C., according to Livy (xxxii. 32), a faction had arisen in Opous. One party invited to its aid the Romans, who were wintering in Phokis and Lokris; the other the Aetolians. Although the Aetolians arrived first on the scene, the *opulentior factio* shut the gates of the city, and awaited the advance of Flamininus (cf. Plut. *Flam.* 5). It would probably be some years before the Aetolian party in Opous was strong enough to repair this insult to the League; at any rate it could not be before 194 B.C., the date of the withdrawal of the Roman garrisons from Greece. Lykopos, assuming him to have represented the League in the abortive expedition of 198 B.C., may very well have been elected Strategos for some year subsequent to 194 B.C., his term of office coinciding with the revival of the Aetolian party in Opous. Possibly he was created Strategos for his services as envoy in 189 B.C., although his mishap among the Epirots did not allow him to do much. As a matter of fact, two dates in the list of Aetolian

value of the stone lies in this,—that for a dedication in honour of the Strategos we can imagine no place more suitable than the capital itself.

Thus, whatever our point of view, the result is ever the same. The cumulative force of our evidence is great. The presence of inscriptions which, while they tell us nothing definite, are yet all of a character in harmony with the suggestion that their find-spot is the capital of the Federation; the close agreement visible between the natural features of the site and the minute fragments of description found in Polybios; its geographical relations, in exact accordance with those implied or plainly stated in our authority; lastly, the way in which the very walls reflect the position of Thermon, historically considered, among the cities of Aetolia,—all these streams of evidence converge to the same point. We cannot hesitate in our decision: the Palaiobazári, and not Vlochós, must be Thermon.

Strategoi are vacant; namely, 189/8 and 187/6 B. C., for neither Timaios nor Eupolemos can put in a certain claim to them. Our inscription would agree well with this, as its date is certainly posterior to 200 B. C.

For the Aetolian sympathies of the Opountian Lokrians, see also an inscription from Talanti, published by Weil (*Arch. Zeit.* 1874, p. 141 = Bechtel, *Samm. Coll.* 1504 B). It begins:—

Θεὸς· Ἀγαθᾶι Τύχαι· Ἄρχοντος Π . . .
Ὀπούντιοι καὶ Λοκροὶ οἱ μετὰ Ὀπουντίων ἔδωκαν
Ἀντιφίλωι Θρασυμήδευς Αἰτωλῶι καὶ τοῖς
ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ προξενίαν κ.τ.λ.

This inscription is on a basis containing verses in honour of a certain Nikasichoros, and relating to events in the second half of the third century; so that the decree in favour of Antiphilos, given above, must be of later date. We may, therefore, bring it into connexion with the Lykopos decree from Thermon. See also p. 238, *note* 1.

Weil thinks that the expression Ὀπούντιοι καὶ οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ μετὰ Ὀπουντίων refers to a division of the country into a southern section, round Opous, which was not long under Aetolian influence, and a northern section, near Thermopylai and Thronion, which was in Aetolian hands throughout the period of the League.

In the Thermon inscription the father of Lykopos is called Polemarchos. A man of that name, a native of Arsinoe, is mentioned as an envoy in 198 B. C. (Pol. xviii. 10). He may very well have been the father of Lykopos, as any one may discover by comparing the dates.

CHAPTER XIX.

North Aetolia.

In our general survey of the natural features of Aetolia we have described the contrast between the country on the north and that on the south of the great watershed[1]. The existence of this contrast is not confined to the domain of physical geography; it confronts us whether we attempt to write the topography, or the history, or to trace the progress of military architecture among the Aetolians. Not one site can be identified with absolute certainty in this northern division: the names of two towns and that of a single river are all that have survived. Our authorities also steadily decrease in number as we advance from the coast. Strabo, the Periegetai, and the historians, furnish us with ample material upon which to base our identifications in Old Aetolia. Polybios alone remains for the central region, south of the lakes. For the towns on their northern shores a few inscriptions supply his place: but for this last division we have scarcely anything. Inscriptions we still find, but to the topographer they are worthless.

Changed also is the character of the ruins. Rudely piled walls, fortified enclosures of small extent, appear instead of the carefully planned defences of the larger towns already described. We seem to see the most primitive stage of the art of fortification in the rough and characterless remains of this district. The semi-barbarity of the Eurytanes, the Aperantoi, and the Dolopes, is reflected in the ruins of their settlements. Still, it would be wrong to attribute the phenomenon to this cause alone; two others have had at

[1] See pp. 5, 25.

least equal weight[1]. In the first place, these tribes lay off the main stream of historical development: the ebb and flow of the political tide set to the north or the south of their mountain fastnesses. It was only by rare exception that these highlanders saw themselves menaced, or that they were impelled to emerge from their rude seclusion in order to mingle in the struggles raging around them. In addition to this, we must take into account the natural strength of their country. Every peak is a fortress, that requires little supplement from art. While, therefore, on the one hand, the isolation of the inhabitants of this part of Greece made fortified towns scarcely necessary, on the other the natural difficulties of their mountain homes made artificial defences almost superfluous. Nevertheless, History has been avenged of them,—as they lived without fear so they died without honour: content to exist apart from the ambitions and the disappointments of their brother Hellenes, they have forfeited also their birthright of immortality.

Most of the sites in Northern Aetolia lie along the course of the Acheloos. Few regions in Greece are as thickly covered with ruins as is the wild district on each bank of that river just where the great bend in its course occurs,—that is to say, between the point at which it receives the Plataniás and that at which it receives the Patiópulos[2]. Nearly every village within those limits possesses its kástro, or its ancient cemetery, bearing witness to the existence of an Hellenic town of which the name is lost. Whatever may be our views as to the precise distribution of the two tribes, this tract must have formed part of the territory belonging to the Agraioi and the Aperantoi. The contrast is remarkable, between the apparent populousness of the region and the slightness of its hold upon Hellenic culture.

We begin our survey on the north of the river Zérvas, in the neighbourhood of Hághios Vlásis. In spite of its commanding position, Hághios Vlásis does not appear to

[1] Or rather, the phenomenon may be expressed in these three several ways.

[2] Between 38° 48′ and 39° 12′ N. latitude. The Plataniás once formed part of the boundary between Greece and Turkey.



KOLOPYRGOS ; FROM THE EAST.

mark the site of any ancient town[1]. Still, it is not without some vestiges of antiquity; for, on the crest of the ridge, half an hour to the south of the town, near an Ἀλῶνι (threshing-floor) and a church of Saint John, we notice a straight piece of wall running across the path from east to west for a distance of twenty feet. No other remains are visible, nor has anything been found to make clear the meaning of the fragment[2].

The ruin that bears the name Kolópyrgos lies two hours to the south-west of Hághios Vlásis, on the banks of the Áspro. Near it there is a miserable hamlet, called Avlakaís, where ancient graves are discovered. The ruins in question stand on the top of a round hill rising high above the left bank of the river, directly opposite the Akarnanian village of Pavláki. A little to the south the Acheloos makes a curious sudden bend, almost doubling upon itself in order to turn a ridge which projects from the Akarnanian bank. The summit of the hill is occupied by a square tower, the sides of which measure thirty-four feet. On the north and west it is preserved almost to its original height. In the middle of the western side, which now stands fourteen courses high, there is a low doorway. The slope of the hill towards the river is so steep that there was little danger of an assault being delivered from that side. Above the door are two windows.

In the interior we notice details that are not found in similar structures in Aetolia. There are distinct indications of the existence of an upper and lower division in the tower. The sixth course from the ground outside,—owing to the accumulation of soil it is the fourth inside,—projects slightly towards the interior, so as to form a ledge all round, as if to support a floor. It is to be observed that the doorway pierced in the western wall is only three courses high; it seems to have been thus restricted in height on account of the floor above it. In the northern wall the third course, counting from the ground inside, contains an embrasure, which would thus come immediately below the floor. A noticeable point about this embrasure is that it narrows towards the outside, unlike

[1] But it represents the ancient Aperanteia, in accordance with the *dictum* of Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of A. M.*, p. 83.

[2] The wall is certainly ancient. The existence of the Christian church is significant. Perhaps the wall formed part of a small peribolos.

the two apertures in the western wall, the sides of which are not splayed. The reason for this difference is not far to seek. It was possible for an enemy to steal up to the opening, which admitted light to the ground floor of the tower. A decrease in its width towards the exterior would prevent his obtaining more than a limited view of the defenders, two or three of whom could stand at the aperture and discharge their arrows. The two upper windows, on the contrary, were not intended for defensive purposes; that is evident from their form, and from their position in the side least exposed to attack. Their object was to afford the guard an outlook over the fords of the Acheloos below them. The destruction that has overtaken the southern and eastern sides of the tower renders it impossible to say what provision was made against attack from the saddle connecting the hill with the main heights.

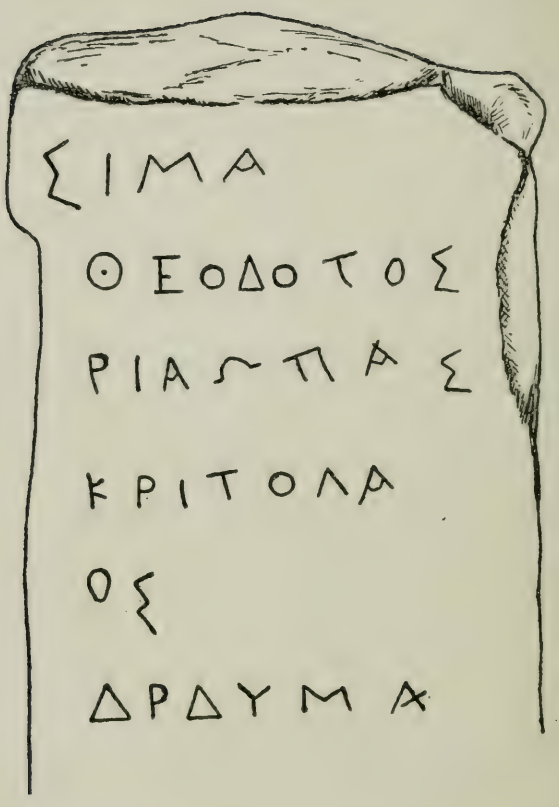
On the end of the ridge, a little way to the south-east of the tower, we find a heap of ruins, possibly belonging to a second similar structure; but the blocks are larger and more carefully worked than those of the fort which we have described. Tombs are reported to be found in the clearing on the ridge.

North of Hághios Vlásis no remains are discoverable until we reach the banks of the Agalianós. A short distance above the point at which it receives the waters of the river of Ágrapha, the Agalianós is spanned by a wooden bridge, one hundred and fifteen paces long, called Τὰ Σίδηρα,—a name which, we are told, perpetuates the memory of an iron bridge that once existed in the same place. A steep hill rises from the left bank of the river, immediately east of the poverty-stricken hamlet of Hághios Vasíleios[1]. The chief features of the remains on this hill are various walls built in good style of very large stones. Although we cannot make out the plan, it is clear that we have before us the foundations of a fine public building. The walls of the town are lost in the impenetrable thickets of the hill. The kástro bears only the generic title Τὰ Ἑλληνικά.

A single inscription derived from the site is to be seen in one of the threshing-floors of the village[2]. The traditional

[1] Ἅγιος Βασίλειος.

[2] In the eastern edge of the ἀλῶνι Στεργαΐϊκα. The stone is 17″ high and 12″ wide. Letters 1½″ high.



17. SLAB IN THRESHING-FLOOR, HÁGHIOS VASÍLEIOS.

To face p. 291.

rendering given by the peasants is that 'under this stone lies the treasure of the two kingdoms[1]': the belief being that this kástro and the one presently to be described on the other bank of the river, after long continued warfare, at length united, and that their joint treasure was buried under the slab. It is a matter of constant regret to the simple villagers that the exact find-spot of the inscription has been forgotten, but they hope that some wandering Ἀρχαιολόγος may one day reveal the secret. The stone is not broken, except at the top, and the large irregular letters, deeply cut in the soft sandstone, are quite easy to read.

.
Σιμᾶ.
Θεόδοτος
Ριαώπας
Κριτόλαος
(Ἀ)ρδυμᾶ[2].

Bazin[3], who first published the inscription and the legend attached to it, suggests that it gives the names of Aperantian magistrates. The sole value of the stone consists in its incidental confirmation of our impression of the rudeness, and in some respects non-Hellenic character, of the Aperantoi and the neighbouring tribes. Only two of the names on the slab are Greek; the rest are barbaric. It is, perhaps, something more than a mere coincidence that the names of the parents are non-Hellenic, while those of the sons are Greek. Is it mere fancy that reads in the stone the story of a tribe, largely non-Hellenic in its origin, gradually tinged with something of Greek culture by contact with Aetolia and Akarnania? The older generation clings to its uncouth barbaric nomenclature, while the younger one follows the Hellenic movement.

A little below Hághios Vasíleios the river of Ágrapha falls

[1] Τῶν δύων βασιλειῶν θησαυρὸς ὑποκάτω ἀπ' αὐτὸν τὸν λίθον.

[2] Cf. Fick, (*Sammlung-Collitz*) 1428[3], who restores: Σίμα | Θεόδοτος | [Φ]αιδώπας | Κριτόλα||ος | Δ[ι]δύμα. He remarks: 'Z. 1 ist fälschlich ein- 3 fälschlich ausgerückt, ΡΙΑΩΠΑΣ B. kann nur Φαιδώπας sein; Φαίδων: Φαιδώπας wie Φαίδρων: Φαιδρωπίδης.' I do not understand this. There is absolutely no doubt about the reading.

[3] *Mém.* p. 299.

into the Agalianós from the north. Their united stream runs for a short distance to the south-west, and then joins the Acheloos. A long and very acute angle is thus formed between the Agraphiotikós on the east and the Acheloos on the west. The two converging lines extend from beyond, i. e. north of, the monastery of Tatárna. The interval between them is occupied by a labyrinth of low thicket-clad hills of sandstone. The last of these heights in the angle contains the remains of a town identified by Bazin [1] and the local experts in topography as Aperanteia. The site bears the name of the Kástro of Tatárna.

The position is one of extraordinary strength. Three rivers,—on the east the Agraphiotikós, on the south the Agalianós, on the west the Áspro,—skirt the triangular eminence, which can thus be approached in force only by way of the saddle uniting it with the hills to the north. Here again the enceinte takes the favourite triangular form, the rocks at one end constituting an akropolis [2]. Only one wall is preserved, viz. that facing the river of Ágrapha: it is built in the usual 'irregular Hellenic' style, with square towers. The level ground between the base of the hill and the Agraphiotikós is covered with fragments of tiles, and contains Hellenic tombs yielding ornaments and tear-vessels.

There is thus no positive evidence for the identification proposed by Bazin. In fact, our knowledge of the very existence of the town Aperanteia depends solely upon Stephanus, who evidently knew nothing about the matter. He says that 'Perantia is a town of Aetolia,' whereas 'Aperanteia is a town of Thessaly': to this last remark he adds a reference to Polybios [3]. The passage in the historian is unfortunately lost, but we have Livy's transcript [4], from which we see how naturally Stephanus fell into the error of attributing Aperanteia to Thessaly. Still, we get no hint from this as to the exact position of the city. If we must attempt to locate Aperanteia, the Helleniká of Hághios

[1] *Mém.* p. 299.

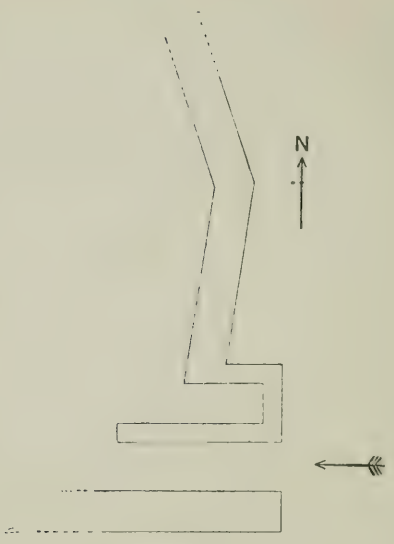
[2] See p. 187.

[3] Steph. Byz.:—

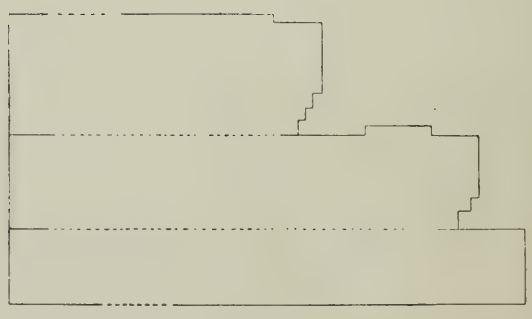
Περαντία· πόλις Αἰτωλίας.

Ἀπεράντεια· πόλις Θεσσαλίας· Πολύβιος εἰκοστῷ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀπεραντοί.

[4] Livy, xxxvi. 33: Dolopiam et Aperantiam et Perrhaebiae quasdam civitates.



18.



19.

18. SKETCH PLAN OF GATEWAY, DJÚKA.

19. PROFILE OF STYLOBATE, TEMPLE AT VELVÍNA. See p. 324.

Vasíleios would seem to have at least as good a claim as the kástro of Tatárna to the name, for on the former site we have what may be a mutilated list of Aperantian magistrates, and the remains on its hill are superior to anything found on the north of the river. Provisionally, therefore, we adopt this identification in preference to that suggested by Bazin.

We find the next ruins at the opening of the angle formed by the confluence of the Agraphiotikós with the Áspro. They lie one hour north-east of the monastery of Tatárna, and are known as the Kástro of Djúka[1]. The hill is the highest point between the two rivers. It lies exactly on a line joining the bridges of Tatárna and Manólis, but nearer the latter. It is of small extent, and the wall upon it is much destroyed, showing in general not more than two or three courses, except at a single point, in the eastern line, where the rampart stands at a height of seven courses. This best preserved portion is also the most interesting, as it contains the gateway: its preservation is due to the solidity of the work.

The aperture occurs in the eastern wall, just at the angle produced by its junction with the wall running along the southern face of the height. One side of the entrance is formed by the extremity of the southern wall itself, which stops at this point with a square end, seven feet in breadth. The other side of the gateway is formed by a square tower, against which the line of the eastern wall ends. The face measurement of the tower is thirteen and a half feet. The passage thus created is twenty-nine feet long, and eight and a half feet wide, rising gradually towards the interior of the fortress. The walls at the entrance are now ten feet high.

In addition to the tower flanking the gate, other devices have been employed. At a little distance farther along the eastern wall there occurs a second large tower, and the curtain between the two towers is broken into a salient angle. Examining the entire line of wall on this side, we find that these salient angles, or spurs, have been adopted in the defence throughout,—a mode not found elsewhere in Aetolia[2]. The eastern wall, in fact, is an example of true

[1] Ντιούκα. Also, Τ' *ἰχτινούς*.

[2] The nearest parallel is to be found in the 'notched' lines of the

redan lines. It ceases in the north at the point at which the steep rocks of the akropolis rendered artificial defences useless.

The style of the masonry presents a good deal of variety[1]. The second square tower, that is to say the one lying a little way north of the entrance, shows work that might almost be called 'regular Hellenic'; but one of its sides is built in neat 'polygonal' of the close-jointed style seen, for example, at Oiniadai in Akarnania. The wall near the gate itself is also in a style resembling the 'regular polygonal,' but of an inferior kind. The stones at this point vary much in size, and they are laid with a certain rude ingenuity that produces strong work without troubling about accuracy of fitting or artistic appearance. So far as the dilapidated state of the various ruins allows us to generalize, we may say that this species of masonry is normal throughout Northern Aetolia.

On the north and the west the hill sinks abruptly to thickly wooded ravines. Looking beyond them to the north and north-east, we see a succession of ridges and then a small stream falling into the river of Ágrapha from the base of the Pterí range: on the west we overlook the gorge of the Acheloos. The only remains within the enceinte are those of walls erected during the Middle Ages, when the strategic value of the position was once again recognized. Lying as it does, close to the trail between the bridges over the Acheloos and the Agraphiotikós, and at the same time commanding the western route into South Aetolia, the advantages of the site are obvious[2].

To the north and north-west of Djúka we find a line of

Vlochós kástro,—of which mode this of the Djúka kástro is a development.

[1] Here again a complete discussion would demand an examination of the possibility of a difference in the date of the various parts. But the criteria are not yet formulated, even if this were the place for such inquiry (see *Preface*).

[2] In connexion with Djúka it is interesting to note the existence of a small fortress near the bridge of Tatárna. It is a veritable *tête de pont*, placed on the cliffs which rise over the bridge, on the Akarnanian side of the Acheloos. At the foot of the hill stands a modern barrack, now also in ruins. The ancient fort has small quadrangular towers; its masonry shows a composite style, but the characteristic Akarnanian 'polygonal' prevails. Heuzey does not mention the ruin.



GATEWAY OF DJUKA; LOOKING SOUTH-WEST.

forts extending between the Áspro and the river of Ágrapha. We have already followed Bazin[1] in surmising that this chain constituted the artificial frontier of Aperantia against Dolopia. Reckoning from the east, the series comprised the kástra of Palaiokátuno and Vúlpi, the three kástra of Velaóra, and perhaps that of Topolianá.

The ruins which go by the name of the Kástro of Palaiokátunon[2] are worth notice as exhibiting perhaps the only Aetolian example of true 'irregular polygonal,' or 'Pelasgic,' masonry,—the style in which the walls of Tiryns and the earliest fortifications of the Athenian akropolis are built. The only remaining fragment of the walls is a piece about twenty feet long, and six feet high, on the northern front of the hill. It is constructed of large undressed masses of rock piled up without regard to form. The wall must have enclosed the circular summit of the hill, but a few fallen stones are the only visible traces of the rest of the enceinte. The numerous tile-fragments on the northern and eastern slopes show that the ancient houses stood in that quarter. On the west and east the ground falls away to deep ravines, of which that on the east separates the kástro hill from the Pterí mountains. The fortress was evidently designed to command the passage down this vale towards the main valley of the Ágrapha river.

The kástro of Vúlpi[3] is found among the hills to the west of Palaiokátuno. The ruins crown a small eminence, a quarter of an hour to the south of the lower village. We can trace the whole line of the enceinte, in spite of its poor preservation. At its north-eastern corner a square tower stands six courses high, built in fair style. At the south-eastern corner a piece of wall remains to a height of three courses, built in a sort of transitional style, intermediate between 'polygonal' and 'irregular Hellenic,'—a style resembling that of the kástro of Djúka, but more rude. On the west the hill drops abruptly to the valley, but on the

[1] *Mém.* p. 296. See p. 81.

[2] Παλαιοκάτουνον. Pouq., *Voy.* iii. 464; iv. 19, remarks that by the word Katúna, or Kátunon, the Wallachs indicate the ruins of ancient towns. Palaiokátunon=palaiókastron; so that to speak of the 'palaiókastron of Palaiokátunon' is to use a redundancy of expression.

[3] Βούλπη. The true pronunciation makes it a monosyllable; the final vowel is nearly mute, as is the case with most words ending in ι or η.

other sides it runs out into lower-lying irregular spurs to which the name Σκοπιά is given. That below the above-mentioned fragment of wall seems to bear traces of having once been included within the fortifications of the main height. Numerous tile-fragments and terrace-walls on the northern and eastern declivities show that the town lay on those sides, but no inscriptions are reported to have been found. The kástro of Vúlpi is the complement of that of Palaiokátunon. It bars the way to an enemy advancing from the north down the vale of the stream that falls into the Áspro near the bridge of Tatárna. This stream has no peculiar name. As is usually the case, it takes that of the village, being called the Vulpiótis.

Velaóra[1] is reached after a three hours' journey to the west from Vúlpi, by a rough path through the tangled brushwood covering the sandstone hills. The inhabitants of Velaóra are dispersed in three hamlets[2], and in like manner there were three settlements in the plain in ancient times. Two of them are near the principal hamlet[3].

A rough crag with a narrow summit rises from the plain, about twenty minutes to the south of the village. A wall on the east and south-east cuts off access to the summit; the natural precipices, with the simple addition of a few blocks piled in the fissures of the rock, formed an adequate defence on the other sides. As it now stands, the wall is five courses high and about nine feet in breadth. Its style is rude in the extreme; if the stones had been larger it might have passed for an example of the so-called 'Pelasgic,' but as it is we can only regard it as a degraded form of that transitional style which is seen at its best in the kástro of Djúka. In this kástro of Velaóra no attempt has been made to flank the wall by building towers or other projection: the line is nearly straight. The rough ground in front, together with the great thickness of the rampart, was deemed sufficient to protect the garrison. At the same time we must make allowance for the fact that the stronghold was probably only intended to provide a refuge in case of sudden attack; it

[1] Βελαώρα. In the common pronunciation sometimes Βελάορα; whence the Velághora of Leake, N. G. iv. 252. So in the French Map the name appears as Velávra, apparently a misreading or a misprint.

[2] Μαχαλάδαις. [3] Machalás τοῦ Γαζῆ.



WALL AT VULPI; FROM THE SOUTH.

was not a permanent post, nor the centre of a polis. We draw this conclusion from the extreme smallness of the area enclosed, and from the absence of any trace of attempt to fit it for human habitation. Marked as is this latter feature in so many Greek palaiákastra, it is nowhere so noticeable as here: it is clear that we have to do with a place adapted and intended only for temporary occupation.

The scanty remains of the second fort are found on an eminence, or group of eminences, five minutes due east of the hamlet. This enceinte was somewhat more extensive than the first, so far as we can judge from the scattered fragments of its foundations. A tiny piece of wall reveals the style of masonry, and that also differs markedly from the masonry of the fort already described. It is in that quasi-polygonal[1] of which the ruins at Djúka furnish the best specimen. Probably we have in this ruin the main settlement, to supplement which the first-mentioned fort was built.

The third palaiókastron of Velaóra lies three quarters of an hour to the west, on a low ridge near the Acheloos. Its plan is a narrow quadrangle, the longest axis of which lies nearly north and south. The wall has fallen to the outside all round, and no part of it remains to any considerable height: its average breadth has been great, about ten feet. A cross-wall seems to have divided the enclosure into two parts. A gateway is placed in the western side,—a simple opening in the wall, which at that point exceeds the ordinary breadth. The masonry is of the type which we have called normal in this district; it exhibits also the variations observed at Djúka and Vúlpi[2].

Topolianá[3] is a village lying one hour and a half to the north-west of Velaóra, across the torrent of Granítsa which cleaves a path through the plain westwards to the Acheloos. North of the village, a precipitous hill rises to a height of about seven hundred feet: round its summit we trace with

[1] Bazin (*Mém.* p. 297), in describing the masonry of this second fort, says: 'Il devait être en cyclopéen régulier.' 'One or two courses' still existed here and there when he visited the site. The fortifications are now practically obliterated.

[2] In the case of this fort also Bazin's account is somewhat different. Its masonry is 'un beau modèle de cyclopéen régulier,' but he remarked on the eastern wall a square tower 'd'appareil hellénique.'

[3] Τοπολιανά, Τοπόλιανα.

some difficulty the foundations of a small Hellenic kástro. The position is a strong one, being defended by sheer cliffs on the south and west. Immediately below the walls a spring formerly existed, but it has recently been choked and destroyed by the outlaws. The chief feature of the site is the magnificent view that it commands.

The palaiókastron of Topolianá is a fair specimen of those yet to be described in Northern Aetolia. Everywhere we find traces innumerable of the existence of a large population in this district in ancient times, but their settlements are known chiefly from their cemeteries. A few stones on a hill-top are the scarcely recognizable remains of their rude citadels. The relics of antiquity reduce themselves to a few miserable stelai and ornaments from the tombs, not worth the trouble it costs to break down the barriers of suspicion within which the peasant possessing Ἀρχαῖα entrenches himself. The best of the finds are conveyed secretly to Athens or Patras, where they fall into the hands of the dealers. They are thus dispersed without any record of the place or circumstances of their finding; or, worse, they are falsely attributed to well-known or fashionable centres.

Remains of a kástro are reported on a low height visible in the valley to the south-east below Granítsa: it is called Ἁγία Ἐλεοῦσα, after the church erected upon it. Equally unimportant is the fortress of Lepianá[1], on a round hill forty minutes west of Granítsa, and due south of the conspicuous cone called Djúka which rises above the village of Lepianá. Tombs are discovered on the ridge near this kástro, in the place called Ῥακούλαις, and also at the foot of the village itself, in which a grave stele is preserved. It is a slab of sandstone, eighteen inches square, broken slightly at the upper right-hand corner: letters 1″ high.

ANTIKPATEI,	Ἀντικράτει[α
ANTIΔIKOY	Ἀντιδίκου.

Zelenítsa[2] lies three or four hours to the north of Lepianá,

[1] Λεπιανά.

[2] Ζελενίστα, or Ζελενίτσα; pronounced, like Lepianá, with the Albanian

on the slopes of the Ágrapha mountains, facing west behind the range of Granítsa (Mount Pterí). About twenty minutes to the south-east of the village there is a palaiókastron defended by sheer precipices on the south, and by deep ravines on the east and south-east. Access to the fortress can be gained only along the ridge to the north, and this path was cut off in ancient times by a strong cross-wall. A few fragments of terraces are all that we find on the site, for the enclosing walls have almost entirely disappeared. It is probable, indeed, that the artificial defences consisted mainly in the wall running across the neck of the hill, as it was almost impossible for a body of men to have approached the stronghold from any other quarter. The fortress is a striking example of the revolution caused in the principles of military engineering by the introduction of long-range weapons.

Between the kástro and the village, which is distributed into several Machaládhais, there is a large ancient cemetery, and many small objects of art are found in the tombs exposed by the torrents in winter. The whole of this region seems to possess considerable buried wealth. At Argýri, for example, a few hours to the west, beyond the river Plataniás but east of the Áspro, bronze statuettes of some value have recently been discovered and sold to collectors[1]. At Zelenítsa itself a few inscribed steiai have also been unearthed, but three only have been preserved.

(1) On a slab of coarse grey sandstone, much worn, in fairly careful lettering. In possession of Κόσταs Ζακάκηs.

ΕΥΤΥΝ	*Εὐτύ[νομος*
ΑΙΝΙΧΟΥ	*Αἰνίχου.*
ΚΛΕΟΤΑΣ	*Κλεόταs*
ΤΕΛΕΜΜΟΥ	*Τελέμμου.*

guttural L. For the terminations -itsa, -ista (which are generally interchangeable in modern Greek), see Leake, N. G. i. 283, *note* 1.

[1] From the descriptions furnished by those 'in the ring' in this neighbourhood, I have little doubt that the interesting Aphrodite belonging to M. Carapanos, and published by Lechat in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xv. p. 461, was actually discovered at Argýri. The inquiries of Carapanos convinced him that its find-spot was in Epiros. A little money judiciously spent about Argýri would almost certainly secure results of considerable value. I got upon the track of several bronze statuettes, but time was precious and I had to abandon the quest.

The first word was probably Εὐτύνομος: The fragments of an o and an M appear on the stone.

(2) Fragment of stele 15″ wide, in possession of the Χρυσαφογεωργαῖοι. Letters 1″ high, rather careless. Found five years ago.

ΤΕΛΕΝΙΚΟΣ	Τελένικος
ΑΓΟΡΑΙΟΥ	Ἀγοραίου.

(3) Stele, 18″ wide, of a grey sandstone beautifully prepared for inscription. Letters very clearly cut. Found recently by the Chrysaphogeorgaïï, along with very fine gold earrings and other ornaments.

ΕΥΡΥΝΟΜΗ	Εὐρυνόμη
ΤΙΜΑΓΟΡΟΥ	Τιμαγόρου.

Two large blocks walled into a house in the 'farther village' originally contained long inscriptions, but they were dressed with the chisel a short time before my visit, and not a letter can now be deciphered. The find-spot of these was not revealed.

This disposes of the sites in the western section of North Aetolia. We might pass at once to the east, for between the river of Ágrapha and the Mégdhova we do not meet with any palaiókastron in the strict sense. The few sites that yield antiquities to the peasant excavator are not of any importance. Such are those of Marathiás[1], Episkopí, and Sténoma. There is also a site between Kerásovon and Víniani, called Palaio-monastéri[2] by the people, but the few stones still visible indicate a Greek building of some kind. At the village of Andhránova, two hours to the west of

[1] Namely, the 'palaiókastron,' above the lower village (ὁ κάτω μαχαλᾶς). Looking down the vale which opens upon the valley of the Mégdhova we see a small plain, on the left bank of that river, at the foot of the heights occupied by the village of Kalesménu. On the plain is the ruined monastery of Haghía Triás, near which ancient remains are also reported.

[2] By the terms Palaio-monastéri (Palaiomonástero) and Palaioklési (Παλαιοκκλήσι) the more intelligent peasants attempt to distinguish Mediaeval or Byzantine works, as opposed to Hellenic fortresses (Ἑλληνικά, Παλαιάκαστρα, Φρούρια). The test is two-fold,—the dimensions of the stones employed, and the presence or absence of mortar (πέτραις μεγάλαις, or πέτραις μικραῖς μὲ ἀσβέστη).

Prossós, antiquities are discovered, in a place called Pólemos. The Hegúmenos of the monastery at Prossós asserted that the finds included a bronze Eros and some painted vases[1]. No great reliance, however, can be placed upon such descriptions; the lost or broken treasures of the villagers invariably far exceed in beauty and value the antiques that they can actually produce for inspection.

The only interest attaching to this part of Aetolia is connected with the identification of the river Kampylos. We hear of it for the first and last time in Diodoros, who tells the story of Kassander's sudden appearance in Aetolia in 314 B.C. in order to support the Akarnanians. The object and result of this interference have already been discussed in connexion with the site of Agrinion[2].

Diodoros has preserved no information as to the locality of the encampment in which the conference with the Akarnanian chiefs took place. The king came out of Macedonia, and did not at first descend into Akarnania. He encamped on the river Kampylos in Upper Aetolia[3]. The reason for this move is not given by the historian, nor is it in itself very obvious. We should naturally imagine that it was dictated by the fact that Akarnania lay off the route which the king intended to follow; but this supposition is disproved when we find him advancing against Leukas, and moving homewards by way of Apollonia and Illyricum. Now the geography satisfactorily accounts for Kassander's presence on the Kampylos. An obvious and natural route leads out of Macedonia through North Aetolia to Leukas. From Macedonia the army would first march into Thessaly, by the pass of Kalabáka and the Metéora monasteries, or by the more usual route through Tempe. The result was the same whichever road was taken; in order to reach Leukas the Pindos had to be crossed, viz. from Trikkala or from Kardhítsa. Kassander would thus strike the head waters of the Mégdhova, and following the course of the stream would

[1] He showed me a small bronze figure of a dancing girl, clad in flowing robes, right breast bare, armlet on right arm above the elbow; huge snake coiled round left arm. Poor work.

[2] See p. 172.

[3] Diod. xix. 67. 3: *Διόπερ ἀναζεύξας ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετὰ δυνάμεως μεγάλης ἦκεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Καμπύλον ποταμόν.*

fall at length into the trail which we have more than once mentioned as leading westwards from Karpenísi across the Mégdhova, the Agraphiotikós, and the Áspro in succession. From the bridge of Tatárna on the latter river the road to Leukas crossed the Agraïs in a south-westerly direction. Knowing as we do from Diodoros that the Kampylos was in Aetolia, it follows that it must correspond either to the Mégdhova or to the river of Ágrapha. The former is the only stream really answering to the description implied in the name Καμπύλος, 'the tortuous[1].' We must, therefore, identify the Mégdhova as the ancient Kampylos. No justification can be found for applying the name to the Karpenisiotikós and that section of the Agalianós which flows between Kútupas and Chelidhóni. Kassander had no need to descend so far to the south-east as to find himself on those streams. A point worth notice, as helping out our reasoning, is the fact that no fortresses are found along that section of the Mégdhova which flows through Aetolia[2]. This would render its neighbourhood peculiarly suitable for the somewhat protracted stay made by the Macedonians in the heart of the hostile country.

We have thus found an answer to our question as to the whereabouts of the Kampylos, but the subsidiary problem awaits solution. Why did Kassander select this out-of-the-way region for his conference with the Akarnanians? The surmise, that it was because he was not intending to advance with his main body into Akarnania itself, proves, on reference to his subsequent movements, to be unfounded. He could not reach Leukas without crossing North Akarnania. He must have pitched his camp on the Kampylos in order to paralyze Aetolian opposition while the concentration of the Akarnanian villagers was effected. The Aetolians could not venture to open a campaign in the west so long as the Macedonians threatened to swoop down upon the central plain from the north. Lykiskos, Kassander's lieutenant, was thus enabled to carry out the Macedonian

[1] Cf. Brandis, *Mitth. über Griech.* i. 30: 'längs dem schlängelnden Flusse.'

[2] In the upper part of its course the Mégdhova flows through the country of the Dolopes, who would of course give the king right of way. They were always Macedonian in their sympathies. See Pol. xxi. 25.

programme without let or hindrance. The moment Kassander removed the pressure three thousand Aetolians thirsting for vengeance gathered before the walls of Agrinion [1].

It would be interesting, and of some value, if we could by any means locate with certainty either the Oracle of Odysseus or the town of Oichalia.

Our knowledge of the Oracle is derived from the *Commentary* of Tzetzes on the *Kassandra* of Lykophron [2]. It appears that the Μαντεῖον Ὀδυσσέως among the Eurytanes was alluded to by Aristotle in his *Constitution of Ithaka*, as well as by Nikander in his work on Aetolia. The Eurytanes, as we know them through Thucydides, are the last people in the world that we should credit with a knowledge of Odysseus. How can his name and cult have penetrated the mountains of Aetolia? We are here on the track of a connexion which we are unable to follow up owing to our ignorance of the true affinities of the races in Northern Greece. We know that the cult of Odysseus was established in Trampyia, a town of Lower Epiros [3]. According to one theory, firmly believed by Pausanias [4], it was in Epiros that the hero at last appeased the wrath of Poseidon, among a people that knew not the sea nor the use of salt [5]. If the Eurytanes had in them a strain of Epirot blood they must have derived the cult of Odysseus also from that people [6].

The Oracle of Odysseus is doubtless to be regarded as an example of the widely-spread dream-oracle; and Odysseus, as the recipient of worship, must be akin to the under-

[1] Diod. xix. 68.

[2] Lykophr. *Kass. l.* 799: Μάντιν δὲ νεκρὸν Εὐρυτὰν στέψει λεώς. Tzetzes says: Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν ἐν Ἰθακησίων πολιτείᾳ, Εὐρυτᾶνας ἔθνος εἶναι τῆς Αἰτωλίας, ὀνομασθὲν ἀπὸ Εὐρύτου, παρ' οἷς εἶναι μαντεῖον Ὀδυσσέως. Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Νίκανδρός φησιν ἐν Αἰτωλικοῖς.

[3] Tzetzes in Lykophr. *Kass.* 800: Τράμπυια, πόλις Ἠπείρου, ἔνθα μετὰ νόστον Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀπῆλθε . . . Ἐτιμᾶτο δὲ ἐν τῇ Τραμπυίῃ καὶ ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς.

[4] Paus. i. 12. 5.

[5] Hom. *Od.* xi. 122.

[6] Cf. Paus. vii. 21. 2: τοῖς τε Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ τοῖς προσχώροις αὐτῶν Ἀκαρνᾶσι καὶ Ἠπειρώταις, αἱ πέλειαι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς δρυὸς μαντεύματα (i.e. the oracle at Dodona) μετέχειν μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο ἀληθείας.

world deities, such as Asklepios, Trophonios, or Amphiaraos. In the case of all these oracle-gods of a primitive, almost savage, faith, the essential element in the ceremony by means of which they were consulted was the *incubatio*,—the sleep in the precinct[1]. The appropriate situation of such oracles was the beetling cliff, the mysterious cavern, the wild gorge with its thundering torrent[2]. Notwithstanding, then, the absence of all literary evidence, the attribution of the Eurytanian Oracle of Odysseus to the site now occupied by the monastery of Prossós appears to me to be unassailable. The Christian dedication of the shrine to the Panaghía is peculiarly suitable; for was not the Virgin goddess ever at the side of Odysseus[3]? The miraculous cures wrought, or supposed to be wrought, in the Christian church bridge the gulf of two thousand years, and take us back to the days when the rude Eurytanes visited the lone valley for counsel and healing.

The town of Oichalia is mentioned by Strabo, who merely says that it was in Aetolia, among the Eurytanes[4]. Bazin suggests, and cartographers seem inclined to accept the suggestion, that it should be identified with the ruins near Klavsíon[5]. This village lies at the southern foot of the hill Kóniska, one hour and a half from Karpenísi. Beyond the fact that it occupies an ancient site there is nothing more to be said. Not a vestige of any enclosing wall is to be seen; the only traces of antiquity are a few pieces of rude tesselated pavement exposed by chance here and there in the fields, and a few Hellenic blocks in the ruined

[1] Cf. Paus. i. 34. 5 (about Amphiaraos): *κριὸν θύσαντες καὶ τὸ δέρμα ὑποστρωσάμενοι καθεύδουσιν ἀναμένοντες δήλωσιν ὀνείρατος.* For Trophonios, see Paus. ix. 39. 5 fol. See also *id.* x. 33. 11; Strabo, p. 649 fol.

[2] Cf. the Taghairm, or Oracle of the Hide: Scott, *Lady of the Lake*, iv. 5.

[3] Cf. Hom. *Od.* iii. 221 :—

οὐ γάρ πω ἴδον ὧδε θεοὺς ἀναφανδὰ φιλεῦντας
ὡς κείνῳ ἀναφανδὰ παρίστατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

and *id.* xiii. 299. Athena may have been worshipped along with Odysseus, (*ὁμοβώμιος*), in the Eurytanian shrine. Perhaps we are too sanguine in hoping that the discovery of some terra-cotta or votive tablet at Prossós may one day confirm the identification above suggested.

[4] Str. p. 448: *ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ περὶ τοὺς Εὐρυτᾶνας.* There were many towns of the name.

[5] *Κλανσεῖον.* Baz. *Mém.* p. 301.

church of Saint Michael[1]. Why this site should have been fixed upon as that of Oichalia does not appear. On the one hand we have no information as to the situation of Oichalia, on the other we have at Klavsíon no certain remains of high antiquity. What warrant then for bringing the two names into connexion with each other? The local tradition regards the site as that of the capital of the Kallieis, and derives its modern name from κλαίω[2], stoutly maintaining that it perpetuates the memory of the horrible massacre of 280 B.C.[3] Even this absurdity has more in its favour than the identification with Oichalia, for the latter cannot appeal even to an etymology.

Pouqueville[4] puts Kallion in this neighbourhood apparently, but his description is vague, and there are no ruins corresponding to it, either at Klavsíon or at Koryschádhes[5], the neighbouring site.

Koryschádhes lies on the opposite side of the valley from Klavsíon. The steep hill rising on the north of the village is called Palaiókastron, and on its summit are the relics of a rude enceinte which seems to have been patched up and altered at various periods: possibly it was in use during the War of Liberation, which was not altogether without effect upon the remains of Hellenic fortresses. Ancient walls are found below the village, near the church of Saint John, but no other antiquities are reported. It is a favourite tradition of the villagers that the place once bore the name Chrysochádhes[6], because gold was found on the site. Fiedler, who was a geologist, investigated the story of the gold, but proved it to be without foundation[7].

[1] Bazin, *l. c.*, mentions in addition 'un sceau de bronze avec l'inscription "Polémarchas" dont les caractères sont de basse époque.' Something may be hidden underground. The ruins of the church of Saint Michael (Hághios Taxiárchis) are nearly buried by the accumulation of soil washed from the higher slopes.

[2] As though the 'city of weeping.'

[3] Paus. x. 22. See p. 67.

[4] *Voy.* iv. 24: 'à peu de distance (apparently from Karpenísi) il existe des ruines entièrement cyclopéennes et sans restauration.' But it is almost impossible to reconcile his account of this region with the reality.

[5] Κορυσχάδες. It is one hour from Klavsíon, and about the same distance from Karpenísi.

[6] Χρυσοχάδες, fr. χρυσός (gold).

[7] *Reise.* i. 186, 190. He calls the place Koreschates.

Karpenísi itself has no claim to be considered an ancient site, although in the scramble for the names of Classical Greece it has won that of Oichalia. With the exception of a few tombs in the plain, yielding samples of coarse pottery, which might belong to the ancient village represented by Koryschádhes, if indeed they are Hellenic at all, no antiquities are found near the town. True, the small hill on which the church of Hághios Dhimítrios stands[1] seems a very likely site for a small polis, but it contains no trace of fortified works. Coins are reported to have been found during the building of the church, but they have disappeared, and such information is untrustworthy.

The notion that Oichalia stood on the site now occupied by Karpenísi seems to have grown out of a curious combination of fancies. Eurytos, the eponymos king of the Eurytanes[2], who ruled in Oichalia, and who fell by the hand of Herakles, has become typical of the barbarity of his people as sketched by Thucydides[3]. And, among the modern inhabitants of Eurytania, the Karpenisiotes especially seem to have gained an evil repute for lawlessness and violence[4]. The combination of these two ideas has given rise to the identification of Oichalia with Karpenísi: but neither the process nor the result has the slightest validity. If the Karpenisiotes ever resembled the ancient Eurytanes they have long ceased to do so; for hospitality and intelligence they rank high among the peoples of Northern Greece, and their unenviable reputation has apparently become the heritage of the Agriniotes. The name Agrinion is popularly derived from *ἄγριος*, 'wild,' and a peasant will in all sincerity excuse his rudeness with the plea that he is an *Ἀγρινιώτης*, and therefore an *ἄγριος ἄνθρωπος*.

[1] See p. 29.

[2] The legend of Eurytos, however, was localized in many places. See Strabo, pp. 438, 448; Soph. *Trach. passim.*

[3] Thuc. iii. 94: *ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὠμοφάγοι εἰσίν, ὡς λέγονται.*

[4] It raises a smile now to read the accounts furnished by travellers of fifty years ago. We find, for example, Fiedler gravely writing in 1834 at Karpenísi: 'man empfing uns mit finsterer Miene, die nur gegen Übermacht freundlich wird' (*Reise.* i. 190). Agrinion also is given a bad character: nowhere else, with the exception of Anatolikón and Karpenísi, did Fiedler see 'so schreckliche Physiognomieen' (*op. cit.* i. 160, 180).

The country to the south-east of Karpenísi is all but destitute of remains of antiquity. There are, in fact, none nearer than those in the vicinity of the village of Dhomnísta [1], six hours from Karpenísi, on the banks of the Krikelopótamos (Krikelopotámi), which river takes its rise in the Oxyá range and flows below Krikéllu, a large village one hour and a half north of Dhomnísta [2].

An ancient town occupied the end of a long ridge which diverges from the Oxyá mountains to form the southern and eastern boundary of the Krikéllu valley. The site is called Phandín (Φαντήν). The natural defences of the place are similar to those of the kástra of Tatárna and Zelenítsa. On the north the river of Kríkelon runs at the foot of the ridge. Along its south-eastern side flows the Stavliótis, which combines with the torrent Dhendhruliótis below Dhomnísta, and, a little farther on, with the Palaiochorítsa: their united stream then sweeps round northwards into the Krikelopotámi, and thus protects the ridge on the south-west and west. Scarcely anything is now visible of the artificial defences; a portion of the works on the summit of the ridge, and a few yards of wall buried among the woods of its western face, are practically all the traces to be found. The style of this latter fragment comes as a surprise after the degraded forms of masonry to which we have grown accustomed in our survey of North Aetolia. It exhibits two courses of large quadrangular blocks, accurately hewn and fitted in excellent 'irregular Hellenic' style. There must be much more hidden under the soil washed from the upper slopes. On the level ground at the western foot of the hill many graves are found, and opened by the peasants for the sake of the antiquities which they contain. I saw in the village a specimen of these finds, in the shape of a small rudely worked figure of gold, representing Eros. A few years ago a large hoard of gold coins was discovered and dispersed among the jewellers of Patras, most of them finding their way to the melting-pot [3]. If we must make a guess at the situation of

[1] Δομνίστα, or Ντομνίστα. Ancient tombs are found on the road, three and a half hours from Karpenísi, on a height connected with the foothills of Mount Kaliakúdha.

[2] Κρικέλλου, Κρίκελον. Cap. of the 'Deme of the Eurytanes.'

[3] There is no doubt that the working-jewellers of Greece find a

Oichalia the kástro of Dhomnísta would be far more likely than any other site.

To the north-east there is a site called Kokkália[1], one and a half hours from Láspi, a village on the road between Karpenísi and Lamia. Bones and fragments of helmets and weapons are frequently turned up by the plough: the site is popularly supposed to be the scene of the defeat of the Galatai by the Aetolians. A Σκοπιά, or watch-tower, is to be seen four hours from Dhomnísta in the direction of Mount Kaliakúdha, between the villages Sélos and Psianá[2]. The distance seems to be exaggerated. The tower is locally described as having Κυκλωπικὰ τείχη, so that it is probably really Hellenic.

perennial source of supply in the gold and silver antiquities of the country. The tendency of the official regulations is more effectually to divert the stream of small finds to their hands. Agents should be commissioned to compete with them by offering slightly higher prices. Specimens archaeologically valueless might easily be disposed of in a Government Depôt of Antiquities to the tourist, who would readily purchase objects of which the genuineness was above suspicion. The professional forger need not cause much trouble.

[1] Κόκκαλα='bones.' Cf. Paus. x. 22. 6.

[2] Σέλος. Ψιάνα, Ψιανά. I did not visit the tower.

CHAPTER XX.

Eastern Aetolia.

NAUPAKTOS, AND THE SITES IN ITS VICINITY.

Viewed from the deck of a steamer crossing the Gulf, or from the Railway between Aigion and Patras, Naupaktos makes a striking and beautiful picture. Only one other point on this rocky coast excites so lively an interest as we approach it. The old name[1], replacing the Enebachte of the Turk and the Lepanto of the Italian, falls from the lips of the modern boatman with a strange magic of sound that transports us more than twenty centuries into the past. Imagination pictures Phormion's triremes stealing from the tiny port, their headlong dash for its shelter, the skilful manœuvre round the idly riding merchantman, the sudden rout of the more clumsy Peloponnesians[2]. Or another scene rises before us from the 'crypt of Time.' Nine and twenty shattered Turkish galleys are creeping up in the darkness to the harbour, sole remnants of the proud and confident armada that had sailed in the morning to crush Don John of Austria[3]. The battle of Lepanto has been fought and won by the champion of Christendom, and away beyond the 'Little Dardanelles' burning ships cast a lurid glare across a heaving waste of carnage, and 'the sick sea' is 'night-capp'd with turbans[4].'

Mount Rhígani[5] comes quite down to the coast, and ends

[1] Ναύπακτος is used quite commonly, and is not confined to purists. In the popular speech (ἡ καθομιλουμένη γλῶσσα) the form Épakto is usual.

[2] Thuc. ii. 86 fol.

[3] Cf. Stirling-Maxwell, *Don John of Austria*, i. 384 fol. The battle was fought on Oct. 7, 1571.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 427, *note* 3.

[5] Leake, N. G. ii. 607: 'As the name Rígani is of Hellenic derivation

in a steep pyramid which leaves only a narrow passage between its base and the sea. This space is entirely occupied by the houses of the town, extending both on the east and west towards the plain, and rising in terraces over the lower part of the hill. From the castle on its summit two diverging walls run down the steep declivity, then, turning and approaching each other, they end in a round tower on each side of the harbour, thus shutting it completely within the town. Between the base of the hill and its summit four cross-walls run from side to side, and divide the akropolis into five separate enclosures[1]. The appearance of the whole, as seen from the Gulf, reminds us somewhat of a papal crown, as Chandler remarked in 1766[2]. Dodwell compares the site to that of Praeneste in Italy[3].

Just as the old Greek name has asserted its supremacy over its Turkish and Italian rivals, so is it with regard to the external features of the place. We find now only shapeless ruins of the mosques and Turkish houses which, in the older books of travel, are mentioned as giving so picturesque an appearance to the town. All are gone, so that the beauty of the modern Naupaktos is purely Greek. The fortifications, it is true, are Venetian, but they follow the line of the ancient walls. It is chiefly in the seaward walls, and in that on the western side of the hill, that we discover remnants of the earlier work. There is, in fact, scarcely anything tangible of ancient Greece to be found; the charm of the place lies in those unchanging features which link it to the past,—the akropolis hill with its glorious outlook over the Gulf, the beautiful gem-like harbour, the unstinted supply of pure cold water, the fresh breeze rushing between Rhion and Antirrhion from the outer sea. Naupaktos lies off the stream of modern activity and development; so that here, in spite of the poverty and decay of the town, far more than amid the noise and bustle of Piraeus or the improvements of Corinth,

and derived from the plant origanum, this perhaps was the ancient appellation of the mountain, though it nowhere occurs in history.'

[1] See the curious print in Spon, *Voyage*. ii. 25, where, however, only three cross-walls are shown. Dodwell makes the same error. Yet Spon says that in climbing to the summit 'il faut percer quatre ou cinq murailles.'

[2] Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 274.

[3] Dodwell, *Tour*. i. 128.



PORT OF NAUPAKTOS; FROM THE SECOND CROSS-WALL OF THE KASTRO.

we seem to catch a breath of the atmosphere of ancient Hellas.

Pausanias has left us some account of the place[1]. It seems to have formed a kind of limit to civilized Greece in this direction. Beyond it to the west lay the region which, in spite of its legendary glories, was in historical times the home of those barbarians and half-Greeks whose fierce lawless spirit had brought themselves and all Hellas to ruin. For those who sought the traces of Hellenic civilization and art Greece ended at Delphi[2]. With only a passing glance, therefore, at Amphissa and Naupaktos Pausanias brings his long *Periegesis* to a close. What he says of Naupaktos runs as follows:—'Here there is by the sea a temple of Poseidon containing a brazen statue of the god, represented in a standing attitude. There is also a shrine of Artemis, and in it an image of white marble. She is represented as hurling a javelin, and she has the epithet "Aetolian." Aphrodite also is worshipped, in a cavern, where her chief votaries are widows, who pray the goddess to send them a husband. The shrine of Asklepios I found in ruins; it was originally built by a private man called Phalysios[3]. Phalysios suffered from ophthalmia and was almost blind, but the Asklepios of Epidauros sent to him the poetess Anyte with a sealed tablet. Anyte imagined that she dreamed this, but it must have been a vision in the daytime, for she actually found a sealed tablet in her hands. So she sailed to Naupaktos, and told Phalysios to break the seal and to read the writing. In any other case Phalysios was convinced that with his eyesight it was impossible to read handwriting; but, hoping that Asklepios meant to bless him, he broke the seal, and no sooner did his eyes fall on the

[1] Paus. x. 38. 12. This is perhaps the most convenient point at which to notice the remark of Phlegon, *Mirabilia*, 3: *παρεγένοντο ἐπὶ Ναύπακτον τῆς Αἰτωλίας ο(ὗ) ἐστιν ἱερὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.* I know not what to make of this, if it is not a confusion with Delphi foisted into the text by an ignorant copyist from Plut. Arist. 20: (Delphi) *κοινὴ ἑστία τῆς Ἑλλάδος.*

[2] A remark which has been previously made by Heuzey, in the opening Chapters of his *Acarnanie.*

[3] Paus. *l. c.*: *ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτὸ ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης Φαλύσιος.* Anyte, according to Brunn (*Künstl.* i. 392, 420), was contemporary with the younger Kephisodotos; so that the work of Phalysios can only have been a restoration.

wax of the tablet than he recovered his sight. He paid Anyte two thousand gold *staters*, for so it was written in the tablet.'

There is now no trace of the temples of Poseidon and Artemis. When we consider that on the Achaian coast there was a temple of Poseidon standing on the cape that bore the name of Rhion, we incline to put this Naupaktian shrine on the opposite promontory of Antirrhion, which runs out into the Gulf five or six miles to the south-west of the town; especially as Pausanias gives us no hint that the temple was close to the city. Skylax enumerates[1] Molykreion and then 'the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, and upon it a temple. Then the city of Naupaktos.' Confirmation is gained from Plutarch, who tells us that Hesiod's body was carried to Rhion and Molykria, where 'the Lokrians happened to be celebrating the usual Rhian sacrifice and festival; which, indeed, to this day is held with great magnificence at that place[2].' The words of Thucydides, our earliest authority, are still more conclusive. After their first victory under Phormion, the Athenians 'sail back to Molykreion, and having set up a trophy upon Rhion, and having dedicated a ship to Poseidon, return to Naupaktos[3].' The Rhion here mentioned, as well as that in the passage quoted from Plutarch, is proved by its connexion with Molykreion to be the Aetolian promontory (i.e. Antirrhion). It seems clear, then, that a sanctuary of Poseidon stood on the coast at Antirrhion, and it was to this that Pausanias referred[4].

The modern Naupaktian antiquaries fondly imagine that

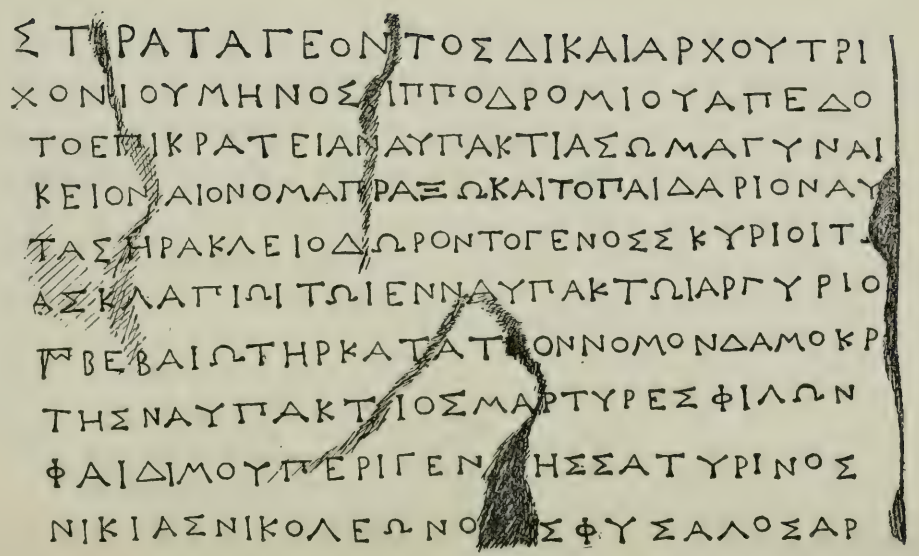
[1] Skylax, *Per.* § 35: Μολύκρεια· καὶ ὁ Δελφικὸς κόλπος· στόμα δὲ τοῦ κόλπου ἐστὶ στάδια ι', καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἱερόν· καὶ Ναύπακτος πόλις. There is no necessity for the emendation Ῥίον for ἱερόν.

[2] Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* xix.: ἐτύγχανε δὲ Λοκροῖς ἡ τῶν Ῥιείων καθεστῶσα θυσία καὶ πανήγυρις, ἣν ἄγουσιν ἔτι νῦν ἐπιφανῶς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον.

[3] Thuc. ii. 84: ἐς Μολύκρειον ἀπέπλεον, καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥίῳ καὶ ναῦν ἀναθέντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς Ναύπακτον.

[4] Probably this temple is referred to again, in Paus. x. 11. 6: γενέσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν τούτων καὶ θυσίαν Θησεῖ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνομαζομένῳ Ῥίῳ. Possibly this was an adaptation of an old Lokrian Panegyris. The worship of Poseidon in this part of Greece is apparently a sign of Lokrian influence. Potidania was perhaps originally a Lokrian town. See p. 356 *note* 1.

To face p. 313.



20. INSCRIPTION (NO. I) FROM THE ASKLEPIEION OF NAUPAKTOS.

certain late remains recently uncovered near the church of Haghía Paraskeví, east of the harbour and a few yards from the sea, belong to Poseidon's temple. The remains consist of small Ionic bases and plain columns, together with a fairly good mosaic pavement in six colours, probably belonging to a Roman dwelling; the walls of a small bath are still standing close to the site.

The situation of the temple of Asklepios, although it was a ruin even in the time of Pausanias, is now known with certainty. It was first discovered, I think, by Weil, who in 1879 published a few fragmentary inscriptions from the site [1]. If we leave Naupaktos by the road that leads eastwards into Lokris, along the base of the rocky heights near the sea, we reach in ten minutes the copious stream Kephalóvrysis shaded by three large plane trees. Just above the stream there is a small terrace, half-way up the cliff. The rock has been hewn smooth in order to form a wall at the back. The entire terrace measures fifty feet in length, and about thirty-two in depth. The rock-wall is about twelve feet in height. Its smoothed face was apparently once quite covered with inscriptions, all of them evidently examples of the well-known Emancipation Deeds, of which so many have been found at Delphi. The words ΤΩΙΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΩΙ, which can still be made out in several places on the weather-worn surface, prove the identity of the terrace with the temple-site seen by Pausanias. Even if Weil's fragments had not proved the point, all doubt would have been removed by the more complete inscriptions discovered by myself in the outer steps of private houses in the town; all these were originally derived from excavations made on or near the terrace.

(1) A limestone block, 2′ long, in a step outside the house of Konstantínos Lukópulos, who also possesses the next three fragments. The block is slightly chipped at each end, but no letters are lost, except the last letters of lines 5–7. A few additional lines may be hidden by the step above the one formed by this block and its companion, No. 2. The letters, about 1″ high, are beautifully cut.

[1] *Mitth. des deutsch. Inst.* (Athens), iv. p. 22. He traced the remains of eight records, and copied fragments of three of them.

Στραταγέοντος Δικαιάρχου Τρι-
χονίου, μηνὸς Ἱπποδρομίου ἀπέδο-
το Ἐπικράτεια Ναυπακτία σῶμα γυναι-
κεῖον ἃι ὄνομα Πραξὼ καὶ τὸ παιδάριον αὐ-
τᾶς Ἡρακλειδῶρον, τὸ γένος Σκύριοι, τ[ῶι
Ἀσκλαπιῶι τῶι ἐν Ναυπάκτωι ἀργυρίο[υ
Γ. Βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον Δαμοκρ[ί-
της Ναυπάκτιος. Μάρτυρες Φίλων
Φαιδίμου, Περιγένης, Σατυρῖνος,
Νικίας Νικολέωνος, Φύσαλος, Ἀρ

(2) Similar to No. 1. In order to fit it into the step a good deal has been cut from each end, but a comparison with No. 1 makes restoration easy and certain.

ΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΥΚΑΛΥΔΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΔΕ
ΟΣΔΕΘΕΑΡΟΙΣΔΑΜΟΝΙΚΟΥΤΟΥΔΑ
ΟΥΑΠΕΔΟΤΟΦΙΛΟΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣΝΑΥΠΑ
ΙΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΟΙΣΩΜΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΟΝΑΙΟΝ
ΝΟΣΑΠΟΤΟΥΑΘΟΥΤΙΜΑΣΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥΜ
ΑΤΑΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝΕΥΔΙΚΟΣΑΜΟΙ
ΓΥΡΟΙΔΥΚΟΣΠΥΡΡΟΥΔΑΜΕΑΣΝΑ
ΣΦΙΛΩΝΑΙΣΧΡΙΩΝΟΣΦΙΛΩΝΦ
ΣΝΙΚΟΛΕΩΝΟΣΔΑΜΟΝΙΚΟΣ
ΠΑΡΑΤΟΥΣΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ

Στραταγέοντος Δα]μοκρίτου Καλυδωνίου τὸ δε[ύτερον,
γραμματεύοντ]ος δὲ θεαροῖς Δαμονίκου τοῦ Δα . . .
μηνὸς . . .]ου ἀπέδοτο Φιλοστέφανος Ναυπά[κτιος τῶι
Ἀσκλαπιῶι τῶι ἐ]ν Ναυπάκτοι σῶμα γυναικεῖον ἃι ὄν[ομα
. . . τὸ γέ]νος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄθου, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου Μ . . .
Βεβαιωτὴρ κ]ατὰ τὸν νόμον Εὔδικος Ἀμοι . . .
Μάρτυρες Ε]ὐροίδυκος Πύρρου, Δαμέας, Να . . .
. . . ς, Φίλων Αἰσχρίωνος, Φίλων Φ[αιδίμου,
Νικία]ς Νικολέωνος, Δαμόνικος.
Ἀ ὠνὰ] παρὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας

The date of both these fragments is exactly known. The first is dated by the Strategia of Dikaiarchos of Trichonion,

and therefore belongs to the year 195/4 B.C. The second belongs to the second Strategia of Damokritos of Kalydon, i.e. 193/2 B.C.

(3) 2′ × 1′; broken at left-hand side, but there is nothing missing, either on the right or below the last line of this part of the slab.

ΔΙΙΜΑΣΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥΜΝΑΝ[Γ]ΜΒΕΒΑΙΟΙ
ΝΟΜΟΝΑΛΕΞΙΑΔΑΣΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΟΣ
ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣΦΙΛΩΝΛΥΚΟΣΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΣ
ΙΩΝΑΠΑΡΑΛΥ ΣΙΑΝΤΟΝΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ
ΛΟΥΤΟΥΑΣΚ ΛΑΠΙΟΥΛΥΚΟΥΤΟΥ

τὸ γένος οἰκογενὲς τι]μᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν [Γ]M. Βεβαιοῖ
κατὰ τὸν] νόμον Ἀλεξιάδας Ναυπάκτιος.
Μάρτυρες Ἀ]λέξανδρος, Φίλων, Λύκος, Λυκίσκος.
Ἀ]ώνα παρὰ Λυσίαν τὸν ἄρχοντα
. . . . λου τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ Λύκου τοῦ
.

(4) Square fragment, mutilated on all four sides; deeply cut square-looking characters, $1\frac{1}{4}$″ high.

Τίμ]αιος Ἀρίστων
Μάρ]τυροι Μεναρ . . .
Ἀλ]έξανδρος Τη . . .
Λεοντομένης
Στράτωνος
Αἰσ]χρίων Ἀρίστω[ν
φυλ]άσσοντι Λεον . . .
Λυ]σίας Ταυρι . . .

(5) Triangular fragment in the threshold of the yard-door of Christos Lukópulos. Much is broken from each end, but the space of clear stone below the last line shows that nothing is lost from the bottom. The letters are fair, 1″ high.

ΛΕΙΚΑΤΑ
ΡΕΣΤΙΜΟΛ
ΔΙΣΛΥΚΟΣΦΟΡΜΙΩΝΑ
ΑΠΩΝΔΙΟΠΕΙΘΗΣΣΤΡΑ
ΛΗΣΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΟΙΔΑΜΟΚΡΙΤ
ΟΝΑΠΑΡΑ ΤΕΛΕΣΤΑΝΑΡΛ

κατὰ [τὸν νόμον
Μάρτυ]ρες Τιμόλ[αος
-ευ]ς Λύκος Φορμίων Α
-απων Διοπείθης Στρα-
-λης Ναυπάκτιοι Δαμοκρίτ[ης
Ἀ]ώνὰ παρὰ Τελέσταν ἄρχ[οντα.

The cavern of Aphrodite cannot be identified. Pouqueville, who was never at a loss, says that in his time the *Mires* (Μοῖραι) were worshipped in a cave of Mount Rhígani, in which the maids of Naupaktos made them offerings of cakes, but he gives no details[1]. Weil made search in the small caverns in the limestone slopes behind the Asklepieion, but he found no traces of a sanctuary; nor can we glean any reminiscence of the worship of the Fates. A small rocky eminence east of the terrace of Asklepios, separated from it only by the marshy pool in which the Kephalóvrysis takes its rise, seems to be well adapted for the site of the shrine of Aphrodite. The hill bears a modern church dedicated to Saint George, but there are no ancient remains visible. The suburb in the plain below, towards the sea, is called Aphrodhíti (Ἀφροδίτη)[2]; in its gardens we find many remains of late date, such as small columns, bases, and brick cisterns. This is probably the site of the unwalled suburb captured by Eurylochos and the Aetolians in 426 B. C.[3]

From Thucydides we incidentally learn that a temple of Apollo stood by the sea near the port. Phormion's vessels, in the second engagement, fled to Naupaktos, and prepared to resist the Peloponnesians if they attempted a landing. They 'stopped off the temple, and turned their rams out-

[1] *Voyage.* iv. 46: 'Mais on retrouvera au pied du Mont Rigani la grotte de Vénus, où les veuves venaient déposer leurs offrandes, comme les jeunes Locriennes s'y rendent encore de nos jours pour consulter les Mires, ou bonnes déesses.' Of course this modern cult is common enough, even in Athens; but I could not learn anything about it at Naupaktos. The modern Greeks are extremely reticent as regards 'Folk-lore' subjects.

[2] Whether the name is a genuine traditional one, or the usual modern Greek fraud, I do not know. The suburb is also called Μεχμετάκη, which is of course Turkish.

[3] Thuc. iii. 102: τὸ προάστειον ἀτείχιστον ὂν εἶλον.

wards[1].' The temple must have been on the shore to the east or west of the harbour, for we cannot believe that the flying Athenian ships crowded into the small port. Its entrance is too narrow to admit more than one trireme at a time, nor is the capacity of the haven sufficiently great to have sheltered Phormion's entire fleet of twenty vessels. That ships of any considerable magnitude could not even enter the harbour may perhaps be inferred from the circumstance that the merchantman which contributed to the sudden turn of fortune on that memorable occasion was riding outside[2] in deep water, just as large coasters from the Ionian islands must do at the present day. The port has been to some extent silted up, but that has diminished only its depth of water, not its area.

We owe to fragmentary inscriptions our knowledge of the temple of Dionysos[3]. The emancipation of slaves under the form of a fictitious sale to the god took place in this temple, as well as in that of Asklepios. It is now impossible to learn precisely where these inscriptions were originally found; they were apparently dug up by the Venetians. The site of the temple is usually supposed to have been on the west of the town[4], but we know really nothing about it.

Polybios has preserved yet another topographical detail, in his account of the negotiations which ended the ruinous Social War between the Achaian and the Aetolian Leagues. The Aetolians sent a message to Philip of Macedon, who was at Panormos on the Achaian coast, asking him to come across to them; so he sailed over 'to what are called the Hollows of Naupaktos, about twenty stades from the town[5].' We are not told whether these 'Hollows' lay east or west of Naupaktos. If we reckon twenty stades towards the east we end at a point on the low marshy ground beyond, i. e.

[1] Thuc. ii. 91: ἴσχουσαι ἀντίπρωροι κατὰ τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον.

[2] *Ibid.* ὁρμοῦσα μετέωρος.

[3] Fick (*Samm. Coll.*), 1425=C. I. G. 1756 =Lebas. ii. 1024.

id.	1426=	*id.*	1757[a]=	*id.*	1023[a].
id.	1427=	*id.*	1757[b]=	*id.*	1023[b].
id.	1428=	*id.*	1781 =	*id.*	1025.

[4] The vineyards of Naupaktos lie on the west of the town, and there are several likely sites in this direction.

[5] Pol. v. 103: πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα κοῖλα τῆς Ναυπακτίας.

east of, the mouth of the Mórnos[1]. For, although the ford leading into Lokris is actually one hour, or about thirty stades, from the town, the river in its course through the plain bends gradually towards Naupaktos[2]. It is most unlikely that the conference should have been held in the plain by the river. We have no hesitation in looking for the 'Hollows' along the winding shore that stretches in the opposite direction, i. e. towards Antirrhion. Numerous points are to be found on this firm pebbly beach admirably suited for the scene painted by Polybios,—the palisade round the camp and the ships, the assembled Aetolians swarming unarmed on the low hills a quarter of a mile from the Macedonian position.

Small as it is, it was the harbour alone that gave Naupaktos its importance during the Hellenic period and the Middle Ages; although, as Leake points out[3], the foundation of the town was due originally to the presence of three desiderata,—the strong hill, which provided an akropolis of the favourite type, the fertile plain extending towards Antirrhion and the Mórnos, and the copious supply of fresh water. These natural advantages at an early period raised the place to a certain pitch of prosperity, in spite of its isolation among the semi-barbarians of Aetolia and Lokris[4]. There is no evidence by which to connect the foundation with Corinth[5]; in fact, the existence of Molykreion, which actually was a Corinthian colony, makes against the supposition[6]. Molykreion is evidently a *pis-aller*, being un-

[1] And this is the case even if the coast-line in 217 B. C. had not advanced so far to the south as it lies to-day.

[2] Cf. Leake, N. G. ii. 607: 'Below the opening the river spreads to a great breadth, and in crossing the plain bends towards Épakto, joining the sea at about two miles from that town.'

[3] N. G. ii. 608.

[4] Supplement what is here said by reference to p. 47.

[5] Such a view would, in our opinion, much post-date the foundation of the town. Whatever be the value of the whole cycle of legends describing the 'Return of the Herakleids,' that item which relates to Naupaktos (Paus. x. 38. 10) contains this kernel of truth, that it recognizes the port as one of the very earliest settlements on the shores of the Corinthian Gulf.

[6] Cf., on the other side, E. Curtius, in *Hermes*, x. 237 fol. He thinks that, after Pegai and Aigosthena fell to Athens, Corinth, owing to the defection of her western colonies, was obliged to look for a post on the

necessary if Naupaktos itself had belonged to the Corinthians. Still, the close proximity of the Corinthian colonists who dwelt at Molykreion, and probably at Makynia also, would tend to bring Naupaktos into contact with the more advanced civilization of the Peloponnese and Eastern Greece. This contact would grow still closer when, as early as the middle of the fifth century before our era, the town fell into the hands of the Athenians[1].

The extent to which Naupaktos shared in the national life of the period is illustrated by the fact that the Naupaktian Asklepieion was an offshoot from the more famous temple at Epidauros, and that the town was the home of the two sculptors Soïdas and Menaichmos[2]. Brunn rightly infers from their being called 'Naupaktians,' and not 'Messenians of Naupaktos,' that their date is anterior to the seizure of the town by Athens: but it is probably not much anterior, judging from the style of their statue of Artemis, as exhibited on the coins of Patrai. We have already dwelt upon the importance of the art-type of the goddess on those coins[3]. We must credit the two Naupaktian artists with the creation, or rather with the first full expression, of this aspect of Artemis. The number of the temples existing in or near

northern shore of the Gulf. To this period he would refer the well-known inscription in the Woodhouse collection (Hicks, *Manual.* No. 63). Curtius would see in it the evidence of a Synoikism of the Eastern Lokrians to Naupaktos under Corinthian auspices. Quoting Thuc. i. 103 (Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἐχόντων), he says: 'Nach dem Sprachgebrauche des Thu. bezeichnet dieser Genetivus aber nicht, dass Naupaktos eine zur lokrischen Landschaft gehörige Stadt sei, sondern diese und ähnliche Worte bezeichnen immer bei Thukydides eine Occupation, in Folge kriegerischer Unternehmungen oder in strategischer Absicht unternommen. Das passt also vollkommen auf die neue vereinigte lokrische Garnison in Naupaktos, und ich glaube also mit höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit behaupten zu dürfen, dass Thukydides' Worte dieselbe Ansiedlung andeuten, deren Urkunde uns in den erhaltenen Bronzetafeln vorliegt.' But whose, then, was Naupaktos before the Synoikism? It could only have belonged to the Ozolian Lokrians; yet the theory of Curtius apparently involves the supposition that the town previously belonged to some other people (i. e. the Aetolians). But we have already settled the question as to the extent of the Aetolian possessions on the northern shore of the Corinthian Gulf, previous to the absorption of Lokris by the League (see p. 64).

[1] Thuc. i. 103; Diod. xi. 84.

[2] Paus. vii. 18. 10.

[3] See p. 98.

the city is also of a certain value as indicating the participation of Naupaktos in the artistic and religious life of the Greek world of the time. This is the more strange because of the evidently close connexion with Aetolia. The two Naupaktian sculptors make the statue of the Laphrian Artemis for Kalydon. Dionysos, who is a Kalydonian deity, is also held in honour at Naupaktos. Finally, there is an Artemis at Naupaktos so closely identified with Aetolia as to gain the epithet Αἰτωλή [1].

There is the strongest temptation to regard this 'Aetolian' goddess as identical with the Laphrian Artemis of Kalydon, whose cult was so predominant in this neighbourhood as actually to be adopted by the Messenians who came into contact with it at Naupaktos [2]. Roscher does, in fact, assert the identity of Artemis Laphria and Artemis Αἰτωλή [3]. We should have concurred in this verdict as a matter of course had not Pausanias sketched the art-types of the two deities. We are already familiar with that appropriated to the Kalydonian Artemis; she was a huntress [4]. The Artemis Αἰτωλή,

[1] From Strabo, p. 215, we learn that at Venice there was a grove dedicated to Artemis Αἰτωλίς. She is there clearly connected with wild nature; which would be an argument in favour of identifying her with the Laphrian Artemis. But was Artemis under this aspect so distinctively Aetolian as to have gained the epithet Αἰτωλή, Αἰτωλίς? We have here one of the many instances of an identification of deities on the strength of one or two resemblances. The Venetian Artemis comes from northern Anatolia.

[2] Paus. iv. 31. 7: Μεσσηνίων δὲ οἱ λαβόντες Ναύπακτον παρὰ Ἀθηναίων, τηνικαῦτα γὰρ Αἰτωλίας ἐγγύτατα ᾤκουν, παρὰ Καλυδωνίων ἔλαβον . . . τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς Λαφρίας ἀφίκετο ὄνομα ἔς τε Μεσσηνίους καὶ ἐς Πατρεῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνους.

[3] In his *Lexicon*. He writes: 'Ἀ. Λαφρία, die mit der Αἰτωλίς identisch zu sein scheint.' What does he mean by 'identical'? His idea seems to be that we have two aspects of the same deity: one who is βαθύπλουτος (see Suidas, *in voc.*), but also capable of sending destruction and disaster as a punishment for neglect, as in the legendary case of Oineus. But his whole treatment of the subject leaves much to be desired, besides being in places actually incorrect. Why, for instance, does he refer to the Spartan dedication to Ἄρτεμις Ὀρθεία under this head? It is a pity that the books of reference should dwell with wearisome iteration upon affinities and attributes that have been long universally recognized, and refuse to glance at unsolved problems.

[4] Paus. vii. 18. 10: τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος θηρεύουσά ἐστιν. As we have already pointed out, Atalanta is her double. All the associations of Artemis Laphria are with the wild life of nature; and, secondarily, with

on the other hand, was a warrior-goddess[1]. The two are clearly different; unless Pausanias has mistaken the meaning of the pose of the 'Aetolian' Artemis. He was, however, scarcely the man to fall into error on a point of that kind.

It is to be regretted that numismatics afford us so little assistance, owing to the fact that the cities of the League, with the sole exceptions of Amphissa and Oiantheia in Lokris, did not issue autonomous coinage. Still, the importance of Naupaktos as one of the southern seaports of the League might warrant the hope of finding some Naupaktian element in the Federal currency. Artemis does, in fact, appear upon the Aetolian coins[2]. Some of them show the bust of the goddess with bow and quiver at her back. This, however, does not answer to the description of Artemis Αἰτωλή, but is certainly nothing more than the Kalydonian, that is Laphrian, Artemis represented in a kind of numismatic shorthand; the head and attributes being used to indicate the whole figure, which in its entirety is seen only

that life when brought under the law of reason and made subservient to civilized needs. In proportion as the latter idea predominates we get an insistence upon the chastity of the goddess and her devotees.

[1] Paus. x. 38. 12: *σχῆμα δὲ ἀκοντιζούσης παρέχεται.* And, therefore, naturally called 'Aetolian,' i. e. the national goddess of a people whose weapon was the lance. Cf. Eurip. *Phoin.* 139: *Σακεσφόροι γὰρ πάντες Αἰτωλοί, τέκνον,| λόγχαις τ' ἀκοντιστῆρες εὐστοχώτατοι*; and 1165: *ὁρῶ δὲ Τυδέα καὶ παρασπιστὰς πυκνοὺς | Αἰτωλίσιν λόγχαισιν, κ.τ.λ.* Pollux, i. 101: *ἀκόντιον Αἰτωλικόν.* Yet we should naturally expect to find the Atalante-Artemis (Laphria) holding the place of honour. Whence came this armed goddess? Is it possible that the divergence of type perpetuates the memory of prehistoric conflicts between different races in Aetolia, such as we get a glimpse of in the story of Meleagros? I will hazard a guess as to the origin of the Artemis Αἰτωλή. The type arose after the Gallic invasion, when the Aetolian javelin was thoroughly justified as a weapon: consequently we find it put into the hand of the seated Aetolia that commemorated the victory. The spear thus replaced the quiver and bow of Artemis,—the goddess of the chase became a goddess of war. But the passive attitude of the seated Aetolia did not fully express the spirit of the re-vitalized nation; the Aetolians were in no mind to sit down with the memory of past achievements. The progressive policy of the League was typified by the pose of the new Artemis, who was represented in the very act of hurling the deadly javelin. Fitly enough also, it is at Naupaktos that we find the new type, for that town was intimately connected with the development of the League (see p. 336).

[2] Brit. Mus. Cat. p. 195.

upon the coins of Patrai. Secondly, we find a tiny figure of a running Artemis, holding torches, in the field of some of those coins that show Aetolia seated on a pile of shields. This again has nothing to do with the Naupaktian cultus. The coins, therefore, give us no help: we are left with the phenomenon, still unexplained, of a town that was not originally Aetolian being in possession of the cult of an 'Aetolian' Artemis, no trace of which is found upon the national coinage. In its place we find a second art-type, one created or developed by Naupaktian artists,—the type of Artemis Laphria, who is herself also distinctively Aetolian. It is a pity that Pausanias, in mentioning the Aetolian dedications made at Delphi in gratitude for the repulse of the Galatai, does not particularly describe the statue of Artemis that was presented along with one of Athena and two of Apollo[1]. We are thus unable to say whether it was of the Laphrian or the 'Aetolian' type.

The Corinthians established themselves in Chalkis, and in the fertile country between Naupaktos and Mount Klókova. Here they founded or took possession of a town which Thucydides calls Molykreion[2]. The fact of its seizure by the Corinthians suggests that the site will be discovered at no great distance from the sea. This conjecture is confirmed when we find that Antirrhion, the northern cape at the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, derived its secondary name from the town; for Antirrhion is known to Thucydides[3] as τὸ Μολυκρικὸν Ῥίον, and to Strabo[4] as τὸ Μολύκριον Ῥίον. Molykreion must therefore have been the nearest important town.

It is probable that in ancient times, in addition to the temple of Poseidon, which, as we have surmised, stood on the cape, there were other permanent works at Antirrhion[5].

[1] Paus. x. 15. 2. See p. 126.

[2] Called Μολύκρεια by Strabo and Skylax: Μολυκρία by Polybios, v. 94; Plutarch, *Sept. Sap. Conv.* xix.; Paus. ix. 31. 6. When, in v. 3. 6, Pausanias speaks of the *cape* under the name Μολύκριον, there is probably some error in the text.

[3] Thuc. ii. 86. Pol., v. 94, calls it Ῥίον Αἰτωλικόν simply, just as the opposite cape was known as Ῥίον Ἀχαϊκόν.

[4] Str. p. 336: τὸ δ' Ἀντίρριον . . . καλοῦσι καὶ Μολύκριον Ῥίον.

[5] A conjecture anticipated, I find, by Palmer, *Gr. Ant. Descr.* p. 491: 'Utrum fuerit eo loco oppidulum vel pagus ex supra adductis non liquet,

As the Corinthians failed to make themselves masters of the desirable haven of Naupaktos, they must have contented themselves with the shelter afforded by the point. The barrier of Mount Klókova, then as now, would prevent easy communication by land with the small harbour of Chalkis. No trace of any such works can now be discovered; we should, indeed, scarcely expect to find remains of them, seeing that the cape, as forming with the Achaian Rhion the key of the Gulf, has never been left without an occupant. The two points approach each other so closely as to reduce the entrance to a width variously estimated by ancient writers at from five to ten stades[1]. It is in reality a little over a mile[2]. The Turks gave the name of 'Little Dardanelles[3]' to the strait, and erected a castle on each cape. The remains of the dismantled fort on the Aetolian side[4] are well preserved. A lighthouse is placed on the wall nearest the sea, and now that the canal at Corinth through the Isthmus is completed Antirrhion will become again of some

loci commoditas ad traiectum me suadet, eum locum non fuisse omnino desertum sine habitatoribus, saltem nautis et scapharum ductoribus cum casulis.' But this will not justify Steph. Byz., who writes: Ῥίον, πόλις Μεσσήνης ἡ Ἀχαΐας. καὶ ἄλλη Αἰτωλίας, ἣ καὶ Μολυκρικὸν ἐκαλεῖτο. Perhaps he misunderstood Strabo, p. 427: καὶ ἡ Μολύκρεια δ' ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἀντίρριον, Αἰτωλικὸν πολίχνιον, where, of course, the last words refer to Molykreion, not to Antirrhion.

[1] Thuc., ii. 86, calls it 7 stades: so Agathemeros, § 24.

Str., p. 335, has 5 stades.

Skyl., *Per.* § 35, has 10 stades.

Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 2: minus mille passuum.

Leake, *Morea.* ii. 148: 'the distance is little, if at all, short of a mile and a half.' Cf. Jowett, *Thuc.* vol. ii. p. lxxxi.

Dodwell, *Tour.* i. 126: 'It appears to the eye, to be at least a mile and a half.'

Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, i. 446, thinks that the strait varies in breadth at different epochs.

[2] Mure, *Journal.* i. 172, makes the same estimate. This agrees with the two kilomètres which it has on the map.

[3] Τὰ μικρὰ Δαρδανέλια. In ancient times the strait itself seems sometimes to have been called Rhion. Cf. Pol. iv. 64: ἔπειθον αὐτὸν διαβάντα τὸ Ῥίον ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἠλείαν. Livy, xxvii. 29: Aetoli, navibus per fretum, quod Naupactum et Patras interfluit (Rhion incolae vocant), exercitu traiecto. In other places it is spoken of as the στόμα τοῦ Κρισσαίου κόλπου, Thuc. ii. 86 or τὰ στενά, *id.* Livy, xxviii. 7, has: fauces Corinthii sinus.

[4] Τὸ κάστρον τῆς Ῥούμελης. Τὸ Καστέλι.

importance. The fortress on the Achaian shore[1] serves as a convict prison.

The town of Molykreion is usually identified with the kástro known as the Hellenikó, midway between the villages of Velvína and Saint George. Velvína[2] lies one hour and a half south-west of Naupaktos, across the stream called Variá. Saint George is two hours from Naupaktos, and lies nearer the sea than does Velvína. The kástro hill rises to about 1700 feet above sea-level, being the highest of the ridges intervening between the two villages: it is a conspicuous feature from Naupaktos, easily recognizable by means of the trees against the sky-line. As we ascend from the hamlet of Velvína we first reach a small ruined church of Hághios Elías, built mostly of ancient blocks. The path leading from it towards the south along the side of the hill passes many ancient terraces, and blocks cut for the reception of stelai. The summit of the ridge to which the path conducts us is a narrow plateau, the centre of which is occupied by a grove of *purnária*[3].

The first thing visible upon the level is a rectangular building, or rather its ground-plan, formed of large blocks rising to the same height all round, namely a couple of feet above the surface. Two steps resting upon a projecting foundation course run round the four sides. The face of each riser is ornamented with continuous sunken fillets,—a mode not to be paralleled in Aetolia. Down the centre of each block in the foundation course and the step resting thereon, a runnel is hollowed to allow water to escape. The extreme length of the enclosure is 104 feet, and its breadth 48 feet. It lies north and south. On the topmost course we do not find any trace of columns or of entrance. In the centre of the rectangle some large blocks are lying, which have evidently once been joined together by ⌐¬ cramps; possibly they belonged to an altar, more probably to the basis of a statue. With the exception of one or two tiny

[1] Τὸ *κάστρον τῆς* Μορέας, or *τοῦ* Μορεᾶ.

[2] Βηλβίνα. Although he did not visit the site, Leake (*Morea.* ii. 150) correctly puts Molykreion 'on the first rise of the hills behind the castle of Rumili.' Cf. *id.* N. G. i. 111.

[3] πουρνάρια, also πιρνάρι and πρινάρι; from Hell. πρῖνος, *Quercus coccifera.* Cf. Leake, N. G. ii. 534, *note* 1.

the plateau by a slight depression, that in which the well is found. There is a noble view of the Aetolian and Achaian coasts from this natural watch-tower. Mounts Klókova and Rhígani limit the prospect towards the west and the north-east respectively. In the south, immediately below us, but beyond the low hills, stretches the long point of Antirrhion.

Another site to which, on account of its greater proximity to Antirrhion, there is some temptation to attach the name Molykreion, is that of a kástro existing near Mamáku[1], a miserable hamlet two and a half hours west of Naupaktos. The hill on which it stands is a low platform only 400 feet above the sea; it is the last seaward member of the system of sandstone hills interposed between Mounts Rhígani and Klókova. The platform runs from east to west, but it is only about two hundred yards in length. In the middle it rises slightly, otherwise the area is almost level. A few doubtful traces of foundations are all that we see within the walls. The fortifications along the brow of the hill are nowhere entirely destroyed, but it is only at two points that we find them standing to a height of five courses; generally little more than the foundation and the lowest course is visible. We count eight flanking towers; their walls are double, that is to say constructed with an outer and an inner face, the interval being filled with earth and cobbles. The same mode of construction is, of course, applied to the curtain, the average thickness of which is ten feet. A narrow aperture in the southern line constitutes the only entrance. The masonry exhibits some variety. At some points the blocks appear to be in their natural state,—at any rate they are very slightly dressed,—so that we find rounded corners, and poor joints; at other points, and especially in the case of the towers, the stones are more carefully hewn, and the courses are nearly regular, although the joints are oblique, —in all respects, save in that of the material employed, resembling the masonry of the walls of Chalkis[2].

On the north the hill sinks towards a lower platform, on which we may suppose the houses of the ancient town to

[1] *Μαμάκου.*

[2] The walls of Chalkis are of limestone; those of Mamáku of sandstone.



KASTRO OF MAMAKU. WALL AND TOWER AT NORTH-WEST CORNER OF THE LINES.

have been placed; signs of buildings are, in fact, to be seen on a hillock near its western end. The modern village stands on a still lower level, in the same direction. From the kástro the castle of Antirrhion is distant one hour to the south-east, on the far side of the plain which extends from the southern foot of the hill westwards to the Kakí-skala (Mount Klókova).

The evidence in favour of giving the name Makynia to these ruins seems conclusive. We have Strabo, who writes: 'Next comes the Euenos . . . and after it the mountain Chalkis, which Artemidoros calls Chalkia. . . . Then the mountain Taphiassos; then the town Makynia; then Molykreia, and near it Antirrhion[1].' He is enumerating the various points visible in a coasting voyage from west to east. Strabo also quotes Apollodoros, with whom he agrees, who placed 'both Chalkis and Taphiassos above Molykreia[2].' In a third place Strabo speaks, if possible, still more plainly when he says: 'Above Molykreia are Taphiassos and Chalkis, hills of moderate elevation, on which are the small towns Makynia and Chalkis[3].' It is clear from all this that Mount Taphiassos[4] corresponds to the modern Mount Klókova or Kakí-skala, for there is no other hill between Mount Chalkis (Varássova) and Mount Rhígani of sufficient elevation to claim recognition. Just as the town of Chalkis, or Hypochalkis, lay upon Mount Chalkis, so Makynia lay upon Mount Taphiassos,—a parallelism which compels us to identify the

[1] Str. p. 459: *εἶθ' ὁ Εὔηνος . . . μετὰ δὲ τὸν Εὔηνον τὸ ὄρος ἡ Χαλκίς, ἣν Χαλκίαν εἴρηκεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος· . . . εἶθ' ὁ Ταφιασσὸς τὸ ὄρος, εἶτα Μακυνία πόλις, εἶτα Μολύκρεια καὶ πλησίον τὸ Ἀντίρριον τὸ τῆς Αἰτωλίας ὅριον καὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος κ.τ.λ.* We must certainly transpose the words *εἶθ' ἡ Πλευρών . . . ἱερόν* to their proper place (i. e. immediately preceding the passage above quoted), whatever may be our theory as to the origin of the dislocation in the received text.

[2] *Id.* p. 460: *ὑπὲρ τῆς Μολυκρείας καὶ τὴν Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸν Ταφιασσόν.*

[3] *Id.* p. 451: *ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Μολυκρείας Ταφιασσὸν καὶ Χαλκίδα, ὄρη ἱκανῶς ὑψηλά, ἐφ' οἷς πολίχνια ἵδρυτο Μακυνία τε καὶ Χαλκίς.* Pliny (*H. N.* iv. 3) repeats this: Dein Macynia, Molycria; cuius a tergo Chalcis mons, et Taphiassus. At in ora promontorium Antirrhium.

[4] It was also called Taphios; as appears from Antig. *Hist. Mir.* 117 (quoted on p. 64, *note* 2), and from the oracle quoted by Diodoros (viii. 17): *οὗτος μὲν Τάφιός τοι ἀνήροτος, ἥδε δὲ Χαλκίς.* The mountain Macynium, which Pliny *l. c.* mentions, may be another name for it; or, more probably, due to a mere confusion with the town Makynia.

kástro of Mamáku with the ancient Makynia. The passages quoted agree in putting that town immediately before Molykreion, and after Mount Taphiassos. This must mean that Makynia lay west of Molykreion, which is exactly the situation of the ruins at Mamáku relatively to those at Velvína. Gell, who does not seem to have known of the remains at either place, makes a correct guess at the site of Makynia[1]. He says: 'The ruins may be supposed near an ancient ruined tower on the left,' after leaving Kakí-skala. This pýrgo still exists on the ridge between Mamáku and Mount Klókova.

Seeing that the Aetolians and the Spartan Eurylochos, after making a partially successful attempt on Naupaktos, advanced westwards and took Molykreion, it seems at first sight somewhat strange that Makynia also did not fall[2]. The geography gives us the key to the problem. There are two roads by which we may go from Naupaktos into Old Aetolia. We may take the coast road leading by Antirrhion and the Kakí-skala into the vale of Chalkis; or we may take an inland route passing through the hills on the east of Velvína and meeting the coast road on the banks of the Phídharis, at the head of the valley of Chalkis. The united roads run from this point round the northern foot of Mount Varássova, and cross the Phídharis under the walls of Kalydon. The narrow and dangerous path cut along the face of Mount Klókova would of course be avoided by an army; especially by one which, like that of Eurylochos, was leaving on its rear the hostile fortress of Naupaktos, into which Demosthenes had just thrown a reinforcement of a thousand Akarnanians. Thus, from the geography, we can easily understand how it was that the Aetolians did not venture, after their success at Molykreion, to descend towards the sea in order to obtain possession of Makynia. This reasoning falls in with the assertions of Apollodoros and Strabo, and leaves no doubt as to the soundness of the identification which places Makynia at Mamáku.

Molykreion, consequently, must be put at Velvína: in fact, in those ruins there is perhaps almost positive evidence in

[1] *Itin.* p. 292. So also Leake (N. G. i. 111) gives the name Makynia to 'some vestiges on the eastern side of Kakí-skala.'

[2] Thuc. iii. 102; Diod. xii. 60.



TEMPLE AT VELVINA ; FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

support of the identification. Pausanias, in connexion with Mount Helikon, tells the story of Hesiod's death. The poet was slain by Ktimenos and Antiphos, sons of Ganyktor, who were exiled for the murder from Naupaktos to Molykreion. At Molykreion they defiled the temple of Poseidon, and paid the penalty with their lives[1]. The remarkable foundations which we have described as existing in the Hellenikó of Velvina must almost certainly be those of the temple of Poseidon. Nothing of a similar nature is to be seen at the kástro of Mamáku.

We hear scarcely anything of the two towns from other sources than the geographers and Thucydides. Plutarch quotes a verse of Archytas of Amphissa, which runs: 'Lovely Makyna, vine-crowned, breathing sweet odours[2].' The date of Archytas is about 300 B. C., so that Makynia was then not unknown among the towns of this coast. Archytas seems to have considered it as Lokrian,—with perfect truth, if we take him to be referring to the original possessors of its territory[3]. It is worth notice that the plain at the foot of the hill of Mamáku is to this day covered with vines yielding a wine of some local repute. The town is also mentioned by Alkaios in the *Anthology*: 'The bulwarks of Makynos thwart not Philip: 'tis time for Zeus to shut the brazen gates of heaven[4].' The epigrams of Alkaios must belong to the period between 219 and 196 B. C. We do not know to what exploit he refers in the above, but we may hazard a guess. In the year 207 B. C. Philip made an inroad into Western Lokris and Apodotia, and ravaged the district belonging to Apollonia and Potidania[5]. No further operations are recorded, but it is probable that this was only one episode of the campaign of that year, and that the Naupaktia also was harried. Its proximity to Achaia rendered it liable to such inroads. We know, for instance, that during the Social

[1] Paus. ix. 31. 6: ἔφυγον ἐς Μολυκρίαν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου διὰ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου τὸν φόνον, καὶ αὐτόθι ἀσεβήσασιν ἐς Ποσειδῶνα ἐγένετο τῇ Μολυκρίᾳ σφίσιν ἡ δίκη. Cf. *id.* ix. 38. 3.

[2] Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* xv.: τὴν βοτρυοστέφανον μυρίπνουν Μακῦναν ἐραννήν.

[3] See p. 64.

[4] *Anth.* ix. 518: Μακύνου τείχη, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, πάντα Φιλίππῳ
ἀμβατά· χαλκείας κλεῖε πύλας μακάρων.

[5] Livy, xxviii. 8. An alternative date is 218 B. C.; cf. Pol. v. 18.

War the Achaian ships made several successful descents between Naupaktos and Kalydon [1].

The two quotations serve chiefly to call attention to the want of fixity in the name of the town:—Μακῦνα, Μακῦνος, Μακυνία, and Μακύνεια [2], are all found. We noticed the same variety in the case of Molykreion. Becker suggests [3] that it arose from the fact that the two towns were in the hands of the Lokrians, Corinthians, Athenians, and Aetolians in turn.

We learn from Thucydides that Molykreion was a Corinthian colony [4], and Bursian is inclined to think that Makynia also was a Corinthian foundation [5]. Strabo upbraids [6] Hellanikos for reckoning both towns 'among the ancient cities' of the country, whereas they were really, he says, founded 'after the Return of the Herakleids,'—a curiously vague date, at any rate for Molykreion, as the time of its foundation must have been exactly known, if it really owed its existence to the Corinthians. This suggests the suspicion that after all Hellanikos was in the right, and that we ought not to take Thucydides as implying that Molykreion was an original creation of the Corinthians. In the case of Chalkis they merely took over an already existing town, and possibly this was all that happened in the case of Molykreion also; Chalkis, of course, being originally an Aetolian, and Molykreion a Lokrian, foundation. Makynia, on the other hand, may have been, as Bursian suggests, a real Corinthian settlement, made subsequently to the capture of Chalkis, and designed to secure the reduction of Molykreion [7] or to protect Antirrhion: we have pointed out the similarity of its masonry to that employed at Chalkis, where the walls must be largely

[1] Pol. v. 95: *ὁ ναύαρχος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ποιησάμενος ἀποβάσεις πλεονάκις εἴς τε τὴν Καλυδωνίαν καὶ Ναυπακτίαν, τήν τε χώραν κατέσυρε, κ.τ.λ.*

[2] *Μακύνεια.* Steph. Byz. *s. v.* [3] *Diss.* iii. 25.

[4] Thuc. iii. 102: *Κορινθίων μὲν ἀποικίαν Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπήκοον.* Cf. the case of Potidaia.

[5] *Geogr.* i. 145: 'vielleicht, wie das benachbarte Molykreia, eine Gründung der Korinthier.'

[6] Str. p. 451: *τὰς δ' ὕστερον καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδου κτισθείσας Μακυνίαν καὶ Μολύκρειαν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις καταλέγει.*

[7] Cf. the Temenion near Argos, Paus. ii. 38. 1; Strabo, p. 368. Mount Solygeios near Corinth, Thuc. iv. 43. Dekeleia in Attika (*id.* vii. 19) is perhaps the most famous instance of this *ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ.* See Thuc. i. 122.

Corinthian work. The Corinthian settlements on this coast must be attributed to the wisdom of Kypselos and his successor. The object of them is very evident. They were designed to compensate for the defection of Kerkyra[1], and probably also to check the Aetolian and Lokrian piracies, which must have seriously affected the Corinthian traders passing in and out of the Gulf during the seventh century before our era[2].

On the east of Naupaktos, a plain which in Turkish times bore the name Pilála[3] stretches as far as the river Mórnos and beyond it to the base of Mounts Trikorpho and Vígla. For the most part it is well cultivated, but near the sea it is marshy and unhealthy. On the north its appearance is more desolate, the ground at the foot of the hills being strewn with boulders brought down by the torrents. The plain forms a sort of bay in the north-west under Mount Rhígani, and at that point it receives the torrent called Ská[4], just below the village of Skála, which is placed on the ridge to the north-east. We follow up the gorge of the Ská until we are under the monastery of Saint John the Baptist, which, with the village of Vomvokú, lies on the steep slope of Rhígani towering above us from the right bank of the torrent. Just at this point a second gorge and stream from the north join the main river on its left bank. The sides of this tributary, which is called the 'Révma of Old Skála[5],' are very precipitous and close together, but by following a bad path along its right bank we finally reach a small flat projection about half-way up towards the source of the torrent.

This is the site called Longá[6]. It is a wild spot hidden away among the mountains, one rarely visited by any but the shepherds, and difficult to reach without a guide well acquainted with the path, although it is only two hours

[1] Cf. Duncker, *Hist. of Greece*, (E. T.) ii. 352.

[2] See Thuc. i. 5; Pol. xvii. 4 fol. And more particularly the Oiantheian inscription in Hicks, *Manual.* No. 31; Bechtel (*Samm. Coll.*), 1479; Kirchhoff, *Philol.* xiii. 1 fol.

[3] Leake, N. G. ii. 606. It contains a *θέσις* still called Πιλάλα, in the Deme Eupalion.

[4] Σκᾶ is what I heard. The true form is probably either Σκᾶς or Σκιᾶς; it might possibly be Συκειά.

[5] Τὸ ῥεῦμα τῆς Παλαιόσκαλας.

[6] Λογγά.

distant from Naupaktos. Comparatively few, either in Naupaktos or in Skála, know the place even by name, and it has apparently never been visited by any previous traveller. Many a toilsome climb has taught us that the ancient Greeks were little influenced in their choice of a site by considerations that to us seem all-important; but who would expect to find in this wild ravine any monument of Hellenic civilization? Yet this 'wilderness' is the site of a temple once of some repute. If we descend to the bed of the stream we see the scanty remains of the shrine. All that we find consists of two pieces of the wall that supported the tiny temple-terrace. The one piece is formed of large, almost unwrought blocks, but in the other the stones are more carefully squared. If we produce the line of the two fragments we find that the point of intersection falls in the middle of the torrent bed, which is only a few feet wide. The present course of the stream must be identical with that in which it ran in ancient times, for the lofty bank opposite the temple precludes the possibility of change. The embankment, therefore, cannot have been rectangular, but roughly semicircular; the centre of the arc has succumbed to the ceaseless attacks of the torrent, and its fragments litter the bed of the stream.

In two other ways the temple has fallen a victim to the destructive energies of natural forces working for centuries unchecked. The whole of the upper part of the bank, that is to say the higher level above the temple-terrace, is probably nothing but an accumulation of soil washed from the mountain side and burying the temple almost entirely. Secondly, a stream rising at the foot of the mountain flows over this level to the torrent, and its waters, impregnated with lime, have converted the soil into what the Greeks know as πουρί, a sort of natural cement as hard as the rocks themselves. A huge mass of this indurated sediment has become detached by reason of its own weight, and has fallen into the midst of the temple platform in quite recent times. Before this occurred, the terrace occupied by the temple presented the appearance of a cave in the bank; the roof of the cave being formed by the ever-growing deposit of the stream. Although we are thus prevented from gaining any idea of the original nature of the site, the collapse of the

ΑΓΑΘΑΙ ΤΥΧΑΙ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ
ΘΕΑΡΟΙΣ ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΣΙΑΕΝ
ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΟΙ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΕΥΘΥΑΙΟΥ ΑΠΕ
ΔΟΤΟ ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΥΟΣ ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΟΣ
ΤΟΙΑΣ ΚΛΑΠΙΟΙ ΤΟΙΕΝΚΡΟΥΝΟΙΣ ΠΑΙ
ΔΑΡΙΟΝΟΙΟΝΟΜΑΣΩΣΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΡΑ
ΣΙΟΝΑΙΟΝΟΜΑΣΩΣΩΓΕΝΟΣΟΙ
ΚΟΓΕΝΗΤΙΜΑΣΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥΕΚΑΤΕ
ΡΑΠΠΜΕΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΙΠΑΡΑ
ΜΕΙΝΑΤΩΣΑΝΔΕΣΩΣΑΣ
ΚΑΙΣΩΣΩΠΑΡΑΣΑΤΥΡΟΝΚΑΙ
ΑΓΑΘΩΤΑΓΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΑΥΤΟΥΤΟ
ΕΟΝΤΕΣΤΟΕΠΙΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΝΕΙ
ΔΕΜΗΤΑΡΑΜΕΙΝΑΙΣΑΝΑΤΕΩΝΑ
ΑΤΕΛΗΣΕΣΤΩΚΑΙΟΠΡΟΑΠΟΔΟΤΑΣ
ΜΗΒΕΒΑΙΟΥΤΩΠΡΟΑΠΟΔΟΤΑΣΕΠΙ
ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣΚΑΤΑΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝΛΑΜΙΟΣ
ΛΕΟΝΤΟΜΕΝΕΟΣΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΣ
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΙΔΑΦΝΩΝΣΩΣΙΑΣ
ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥΣΩΣΙΒΙΟΣΕΥΒΟΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΠ
ΠΟΣΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΟΙΛΑΜΙΟΣΝΕΑΙΟΣ
ΑΜΥΝΑΝΔΡΟΣΑΜΕΙΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΔΑΜΕΑΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣΠΕΥΡΩΝΑΛΕ
ΞΙΔΑΜΟΣΟΑΡΧΩΝΤΑΝΩΝΑΝΦΥ
ΛΑΣΟΝΤΙΑΛΕΞΙΔΑΜΟΣΟΑΡΧΩΝ
ΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΣΚΑΙΣΩΣΙΑΣΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ
ΝΑΥΠΑ[illegible]ΚΤΙΟΣ ΧΚΑ

22. INSCRIPTION FROM THE ASKLEPIEION, LONGÁ.

(See Appendix III, No. 1.)

To face p. 333.

mass is perhaps not wholly to be regretted, as a few of the more enterprising of the Skála peasants had commenced secret excavations in order to recover the golden Ἀγάλματα (statues) which they firmly believe to be buried within the precinct. The landslip put an end to their investigations, but not before they had revealed the existence of several columns and slabs bearing inscriptions. These are now again buried, with the exception of a single piece of a column, which was thrown into the torrent.

The entire surface of this fragment, some six or seven feet in length, is covered with inscriptions, most of which are so encrusted with the calcareous deposit or worn by the action of the water as to be almost illegible. The weight of the piece makes the turning of it a difficult task, wedged in as it is among the boulders, so that the inscriptions which I succeeded in copying [1] are not more than a third of the number that it contains. The surface of the column appears to have been left quite rudely dressed, and a space has been smoothed as occasion required for the reception of each record. This is proved by the rough ridge appearing between each inscription. We find throughout the same general style of lettering, showing that the inscriptions do not differ much in date: we should naturally expect to find that a certain sequence had been observed in the process of inscribing the columns, so that any particular column would not show inscriptions belonging to widely different periods. Nevertheless, within this substantial unity there is the greatest possible contrast between the records. Some are in small careful letters; others in large and irregular, indicating a complete absence of technical training.

The inscriptions prove to be examples of the Emancipation Deed, of which we have already had specimens. Curtius has discussed the whole class of these inscriptions [2], and has formulated certain conclusions with regard to the usage; more recently, Weil [3], in his paper on the Naupaktian Asklepieion, has given in short compass the results generally accepted. When the site of Delphi has been completely

[1] The complete text of the inscriptions is given in Appendix III.

[2] In his *Anecdota Delphica.*

[3] See also P. Foucart, *Mémoire sur l'affranchissement des esclaves* (Paris, 1867); and *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* v. (1881), p. 406 fol.

cleared we shall possibly find our knowledge supplemented with regard to several obscurities. The Skála examples do not directly supply anything material, beyond adding one more centre to the list of those at which slaves were emancipated in this manner [1].

For Aetolian topography the Skála inscriptions possess considerable value. In each case the formula used is ἀπέδοτο τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ τῷ ἐν Κρουνοῖς; just as at Naupaktos we have τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῷ τῷ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ. We thus recover the name of the deity to which the temple was dedicated, together with the local name of the site,—'the Springs.' The appellation is appropriate, as the site is not far from the head of the gorge, where the torrent takes its rise, below the spot whereon stood the old village of Skála which gives its name to the révma. The spring on the level ground above the temple has already been mentioned. There is also a third tiny spring, in the steep bank opposite the temple.

The information given by the inscriptions does not stop here. We find that in nearly all of them the date is given by the name of the Archon ἐν Βούττοι; and in every case the Archon of the Bouttioi, often in conjunction with others, or with his colleagues, preserves the record of the sale [2]. In many instances one of the principals in the Deed is himself a Βούττιος. There is no doubt that the temple was within the territory of this town of Bouttos. The name, or one very similar, is not unknown [3], but our acquaintance with it as belonging to a town of Hellas is limited, so far as I am aware, to a single instance of the occurrence of the ethnic in that invaluable store-house of information, the collection of Delphic Emancipation Deeds [4]. Curiously

[1] The centres in Aetolia are:—Naupaktos, Skála, Phistyon, Malandhríno; and by proclamation at Thermon.

[2] e. g. Τὰν ὠνὰν φυλάσσοντι Λάμιος ὁ ἄρχων, Δαμόξενος, Βούττιοι. Another has: Τὰν ὠνὰν φυλάσσοντι οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Βουττίων Ἀγριάδας, Ἀλεξίδαμος. See Appendix.

[3] Steph. Byz. Βοῦτος, πόλις Αἰγύπτου. Ἡρωδιανὸς δὲ κώμην αὐτήν φησιν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Βουτώ . . . τὸ ἔθνικον Βούτιος. Cf. Herod. ii. *passim*; especially chap. 155: οὔνομα δὲ τῇ πόλι . . . ἐστι Βουτώ . . . Ἱρὸν δέ ἐστι ἐν τῇ Βουτοῖ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος. It was the seat of a great oracle of Leto. There was also an Arabian Bouto, Herod. ii. 75.

[4] Baunack (*Sammlung-Collitz*), 1993=W.-F. 328.

enough, there is little doubt that the Delphic record can be brought into direct connexion with these from Skála, so that we are enabled to fix their date. The record from Delphi is dated by the second Strategia of Alexander of Kalydon, that is to say 195 B.C., and included among the witnesses is one Leontomenes[1]. In four of the Skála Deeds a prominent figure is one Lamios, son of Leontomenes. If the father of this Lamios is identical with the Leontomenes of the Delphian example, the date of the Skála Deeds will be posterior to 168 B.C.[2], down to which year we have an almost complete list of Aetolian Strategoi; which, however, does not contain the name of either Trichas or Ladikos, the two Strategoi mentioned in the Skála Inscriptions.

Interesting as it is to learn the existence of the Bouttioi, we are bound to confess that we are unable to advance farther in the way of identification. The country round the site of the temple must have been in their possession, but whether they are to be regarded as genuine Aetolians or as Lokrians is more than we can say with certainty. We have already decided that the Ozolian Lokrians originally extended west of the Mórnos and beyond Naupaktos as far as Mount Kakí-skala, but we are quite in the dark as to the limits of their territory towards the interior[3]. Judging from the state of things on the east of the river, we should certainly be justified in narrowing down their possessions to the strip of land along the sea, but this would not invalidate the supposition that the Bouttioi also were Lokrians; for the territory of the Bouttioi, if the temple was within it, must have approached to within five miles of the Gulf.

Upon the whole, however, we must deny the connexion of the Bouttioi with Lokris. In the first place, we notice that Eurylochos, before marching against Naupaktos, takes care to secure hostages from the Lokrian towns. Thucydides gives us a list of these towns, and they all seem to lie east of the Mórnos[4]. If the Bouttioi were Lokrian we

[1] Λεοντομένης Βούττιος.

[2] i.e. 195 less 30 years,—the difference between the *floruit* of father and son.

[3] See p. 64.

[4] Thuc. iii. 101. But the topography of eastern and interior Lokris is still unsettled.

should expect their name also to appear, as their attitude would be important owing to their strong position on the hills between Naupaktos and the river: yet, if Thucydides has given us a complete list, Eurylochos feared nothing west of Oineon and Eupalion. It is, therefore, possible for us to argue from their non-appearance that the Bouttioi were Aetolian, and consequently favourable to the interests of Eurylochos, who had been sent in response to an appeal made to Sparta by the three sections of the nation.

In the second place, we recall the fact that the invasion by Demosthenes was suggested by the Messenians of Naupaktos. There is a world of meaning underlying the simple words of Thucydides,—'the Aetolians, the enemies of Naupaktos[1].' Already the Aetolians were pressing upon Naupaktos, a place of supreme importance to them if their League was to extend itself beyond its native mountains. For we do not exaggerate when we say that it was to a great extent the possession of Naupaktos that enabled the League to win a position in the political world beyond Greece proper[2]. The struggle to reach the Gulf was prolonged, because the two strongest powers in Greece,—Corinth and Athens,—successively barred the way and kept a firm hold upon the coast between the Mórnos and the Phídharis. The conflict waxed keener during the period of Athenian supremacy, because by that time Aetolia had learnt the secret of union. The Messenians, if we knew all, had probably very good reasons for wishing to see the power of their dangerous neighbours broken. As far as it goes,—and that, we admit, is not very far,—the expression in Thucydides points to their having been in immediate contact with the Aetolians, not separated from them by a 'buffer tribe' of Lokrians; so that we are inclined to reckon the Bouttioi as an Aetolian people, the next neighbours of the colonists at Naupaktos.

If we have hit the truth in our assumption that the Mórnos separated the Apodotoi from the Ophioneis[3], the Bouttioi

[1] Thuc. iii. 94: Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπιθέσθαι, Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολεμίοις οὖσι, κ.τ.λ.

[2] Herakleia, Naupaktos, Ambrakia, mark three moments in the history of the growth of the League: but it is with Naupaktos that its peculiar position as a maritime power is identified.

[3] See p. 62.

must have belonged to the latter tribe; but whether they formed one of its larger sections, like the Bomieis and Kallieis, or a smaller subdivision, or even merely the inhabitants of a single polis, we are quite unable to determine. As one of the Skála inscriptions gives the names of five Archons, all holding office at the same time, it does not seem likely that we should confine them to a single town.

We are equally at a loss when we attempt to locate the town to which the temple belonged, as there are no certain remains of a polis near the Longá. A few ancient remnants are to be seen near Vomvokú [1], but they are too insignificant to be those of a town. Nor do the remains called 'the Marbles [2],' near Skála, throw any light on the question; they rather complicate it, for they seem to belong to a second shrine. They lie on the ridge half an hour north of the village, in a conspicuous situation. We find on the site little more than a heap of wrought Hellenic blocks, among which appear two small fragments of a wall. One of the stones is a base with a moulding. Others have cramp-marks of ⌐¬ form. On the very summit of the ridge, some ten minutes from these remains, are the foundations of a watch-tower, ten paces square. The view from it embraces all the Gulf and the north Peloponnesian coast from Patras to Aigion, the castle of Antirrhion, and the coast-land at the mouth of the Mórnos. We cannot speak very definitely about the site, but, as far as we can judge, a small unwalled village [3] existed on the ridge, round the edifice represented by 'the Marbles.' From the tower a sentinel could observe the approach of an enemy from the south, and the villagers, forewarned, would take refuge in the hill-country behind them. We find a perfect illustration in the case of Potidania and Apollonia [4]. We could scarcely identify this κώμη as Bouttos, where we hear of a board of at least five Archons.

Nor if we search farther afield do we reach a more definite result. Neókastron, to the north of Skála, dates, as its name implies [5], only from the War of Independence [6].

[1] Βομβοκοῦ. [2] 'ς τὰ Μάρμαρα. [3] Κώμη ἀτείχιστος.

[4] Livy, xxviii. 8. See p. 355. [5] Νεόκαστρον, = Newcastle.

[6] There is an ancient cemetery twenty minutes north-west of Neókastron, among the woods on the hill-side. The traces of κώμαι, i. e. unwalled settlements, are so numerous in the region immediately N. of Naupaktos

The same is the case with the 'Kastráki' of Vróstiani on the eastern bank of the Phídharis, two hours above the bridge of Vlachomándhra[1]. At Vróstiani[2] itself, two hours still farther up the country, behind Mount Rhígani, there are many finely-wrought stones as from public buildings, lying on the slope of the hill that bounds the northern side of the small plain on the west of the village. Coins also are found among the vines in the plain, but there are apparently no inscriptions. The scanty ruins of a small polis are to be seen at Marathiás, near the right bank of the Mórnos, at the point at which the river turns to flow to the south-west. It is impossible to prove that Bouttos stood at Marathiás, for the site itself tells us nothing. Still more impossible is it to hazard any conjecture concerning the Phyllaioi and the Porioi, who are both mentioned in the inscriptions from Skála[3]. We have no hint as to their nationality or their position.

that we are tempted to think that we have in this fact the basis of the inaccurate general statement made by the Messenians in Thuc. iii. 94: *οἰκοῦν δὲ κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους, καὶ ταύτας διὰ πολλοῦ.*

[1] This bridge is on the main road between Naupaktos and Gavalú, about four hours from Naupaktos. See pp. 47, 131, 240.

[2] Βρωστιάνη, Βρώστιανη. Perhaps this site is the most likely one that can be suggested for the town of the Bouttioi.

[3] Appendix III, Nos. 6, 7.

CHAPTER XXI.

Eastern Aetolia.

sites on the east of the mornos[1].

Aetolia clearly illustrates the progress of geographical knowledge among the Greeks. The country readily falls into three great sections, which are distinguished one from another according to the manner and extent of their treatment at the hands of historian and geographer. The contrast existing in this respect between Old Aetolia and Eurytania has already been noticed, and its causes have been indicated[2]. The Eurytanes, the Dolopes, the Ainianes, and the rest of the tribes inhabiting the spurs of Pindos, lay below the political horizon of Greece, so that we could scarcely expect to hear more of them than is actually the case. Somewhat less easy is it to account for the unsatisfactory character of our knowledge of the third division,—Apodotia and Ophioneia. The significance of this remark is only appreciated when it is remembered that in this third division we must also include the country of the Ozolian Lokrians, on precisely the same footing as that of the Apodotoi and Ophioneis. Very vividly do we realize the dissociative tendencies in ancient Greece when we reflect that our knowledge of this territory that stretches for nearly forty miles along the Corinthian Gulf, over against the Achaian towns, is all but limited to a list of a dozen names in the pages of Thucydides. In fact, the few sections in Thucydides, and two passages in Livy, together with one or two remarks by the geographical writers, constitute the only material that we possess upon which to base the topography of Apodotia and the neighbouring parts of Lokris.

[1] Μόρνος, Μορνός, Μορνοπόταμος. As usual, the final s is dropped in the ordinary pronunciation.

[2] See p. 287 fol.

By far the most important authority is that of Thucydides. We have already made large use of his account in discussing the probable boundaries of the Aetolian tribes. For the purposes of that discussion its value is great; but when we inspect the passage more closely it wears a very different complexion. We find in it no minuteness of detail as to the sites of the towns, nothing definite as to the route of the ill-starred Athenian expedition. The narrative is simply a tissue of generalities worked up by a master-hand into an artistic whole, matchless in its simplicity and severe restraint, like a statue of the archaic period. From the point of view of the mere topographer this fine generality is a defect. Apart from its relation to the artistic spirit of the epoch, it may be explained by reference to the vagueness of the information upon which the historian was compelled to rely. Much more, however, is it due to his own failure to appreciate the value of topographical detail, and to make the most of the sources to which he had access [1].

In 426 B.C., the sixth year of the Peloponnesian War, Demosthenes, the son of Alkisthenes, was in command of an Athenian squadron at Leukas [2]. Instead of reducing Leukas in accordance with the desires of his Akarnanian allies, the Athenian admiral lent his ear to the proposals of the Messenians of Naupaktos, who urged that he might employ the large force under his orders upon a more worthy object, namely, the conquest of the Aetolians. 'They were the enemies of Naupaktos [3], and if he defeated them he would easily subjugate the adjoining part of the mainland to the Athenians. The Aetolians, they said, though a warlike nation, dwelt in unwalled villages, which were widely scattered [4], and as they had only light-armed soldiers they would be subdued without difficulty before they could

[1] Cf. Jowett, *Thuc.* vol. ii. lxxix.: 'It may be said of his descriptions generally, as of most early descriptions, that they are graphic rather than accurate.'

[2] Thuc. iii. 94 fol. Demosthenes belonged to the Deme Aphidnai: cf. C. I. A. i. 273. For an estimate of him as a general, see Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, i. 57 fol.

[3] Thuc. *l. c.* ὡς καλὸν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης ξυνειλεγμένης Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπιθέσθαι, Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολεμίοις οὖσι, κ.τ.λ.

[4] Οἰκοῦν δὲ κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους καὶ ταύτας διὰ πολλοῦ.

combine. They told him that he should first attack the Apodotoi, then the Ophioneis, and after them the Eurytanes. . . . They said that if he conquered these the rest would readily come over to him[1].'

'Demosthenes was influenced by his regard for the Messenians, and still more by the consideration that without reinforcements from Athens, and with no other help than that of the allies on the mainland, to whom he would add the Aetolians, he could make his way by land to attack Boiotia.' He therefore ceased operations at Leukas, and sailed, much against the will of the Akarnanians, to Sollion, where he revealed his designs. The Akarnanians refused to co-operate; but, nothing daunted, Demosthenes entered upon his campaign with a force composed only of the Messenian contingent from Naupaktos, three hundred Athenian marines from his own ships, and a body of Kephallenians and Zakynthians. 'He marched against the Aetolians, starting from Oineon in Lokris[2]. The Ozolian Lokrians were allies[3] of the Athenians, and they were to meet him with their whole force in the interior of the country[4]. They dwelt on the borders of the Aetolians, and, as they were armed in a similar manner[5] and knew their country and ways of fighting, their help in the expedition seemed likely to be very valuable.'

'He encamped the first night at the temple of Nemeian Zeus. . . . Early the next morning he proceeded on his march into Aetolia[6]. On the first day he took Potidania,

[1] *Τούτων γὰρ ληφθέντων ῥᾳδίως καὶ τἆλλα προσχωρήσειν.* By 'the rest' we must not understand certain,—otherwise unknown,—Aetolian tribes, over and above those enumerated in the previous sentence. It refers back to the expression *τὸ ἄλλο ἠπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταύτῃ*,—by which we must understand the Messenians (or Thucydides) to mean that the Athenian 'sphere of influence' in Western Hellas would be enormously extended if the three Aetolian tribes were subjugated. It would be difficult, however, to state precisely what tribes were in the historian's mind. There are positive arguments against applying the words to the Ambrakiots, the Leukadians, and the people of Oiniadai, as does Poppo.

[2] Thuc. iii. 95: *ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Αἰτωλούς. ὡρμᾶτο δὲ ἐξ Οἰνεῶνος τῆς Λοκρίδος.*

[3] *Ξύμμαχοι ἦσαν.*

[4] *Πανστρατιᾷ ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν.*

[5] *Ὅμοροι τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ ὁμόσκευοι.*

[6] Chap. 96: *αὐλισάμενος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ . . . ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ ἄρας ἐπορεύετο ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν.*

on the second Krokyleion, on the third Teichion. There he stayed, and sent back the spoils to Eupalion in Lokris. For he did not intend to attack the Ophioneis yet; when he had subjugated the rest of the country he would return to Naupaktos, and make a second expedition against them if they continued to resist[1]. The Aetolians were aware of his designs from the very first; and no sooner did he enter their territory than they all collected in great force. Even the most distant of the Ophioneis, the Bomieis and Kallieis who reach down towards the Maliac gulf, came to the aid of their countrymen.'

'The Messenians repeated the advice which they had originally given to Demosthenes. They assured him that there would be no difficulty in conquering the Aetolians, and told him to march as quickly as he could against their villages. He should not wait until they could combine and meet him with an army, but should endeavour to take any place that was nearest. He, trusting to their advice, and rendered confident by his good fortune since everything was going favourably, did not wait for the Lokrians, who should have supplied his deficiency in javelin men, but at once marched towards Aigition, which he attacked and captured. The inhabitants had stolen away and taken up a position on the hills overhanging the town, which was itself built upon heights at a distance of about eighty stades from the sea. The other Aetolians, who had by this time come to the relief of Aigition, attacked the Athenians and their allies. Some ran down from one hill and some from another and hurled darts at them; when the Athenian army advanced they retired, and when the Athenians retired they pressed upon them. The battle, which lasted long, was nothing but a series of pursuits and retreats, and in both the Athenians were at a disadvantage.'

'While their archers had arrows and were able to use them, the Athenians maintained their ground, for the Aetolians, being light-armed, were driven back by the arrows; but at length the captain of the archers was slain, and the forces under his command no longer kept together. The Athenians themselves grew weary of the long and

[1] Chap. 96: *τὴν γὰρ γνώμην εἶχε τἆλλα καταστρεψάμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ Ὀφιονέας, εἰ μὴ βούλοιντο ξυγχωρεῖν, ἐς Ναύπακτον ἐπαναχωρήσας στρατεῦσαι ὕστερον.*

tedious struggle. The Aetolians came closer and closer, and never ceased hurling darts at them. At last the Athenians turned and fled, and falling into ravines, out of which there was no way[1], or losing themselves in a strange country, they perished. Their guide, Chromon the Messenian, had been killed. The Aetolians, who were light-armed and swift of foot, followed at their heels, hurling darts, and caught and slew many of them in their flight. The greater number missed their way and got into the woods[2], out of which no path led; and their enemies brought fire and burnt the wood about them. So the Athenian army tried every means of escape, and perished in all manner of ways. The survivors with difficulty made their way to the sea at Oineon in Lokris, whence they had started.'

Difficulties confront us at the outset. Thucydides does not say where Demosthenes landed in order to begin the campaign. As Leake points out[3], 'it might even be inferred that the landing was at Sollion in Akarnania, where he met the Akarnanians and received their refusal.' That, however, is very improbable, as nothing would have been gained by cutting a way through Old Aetolia to the Lokrian frontier. The fleet would naturally sail up the Gulf to Naupaktos and thence to Oineon in Lokris, the point of departure for the expedition. It is clearly of the first importance to fix the site of that place: until that is done, we are unable to apply those geographical considerations which must be our sole guide in tracing the subsequent movements of the invaders. Thucydides himself gives us enough to enable us to fix the site within narrow limits. The retreating Athenians fight their way 'to the sea and Oineon in Lokris, their point of departure[4].' That it was east of the Mórnos follows from the supposition, of the truth of which there can be no doubt, that the territory of Naupaktos extended as far as that river: there is in addition the fact that there are no remains on the coast between Naupaktos and the mouth of the Mórnos[5].

[1] Chap. 98: *χαράδρας ἀνεκβάτους.*

[2] *Ibid. τοὺς δὲ πλείους τῶν ὁδῶν ἁμαρτάνοντας καὶ ἐς τὴν ὕλην ἐσφερομένους, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] N. G. ii. 613, *note* 1.

[4] *Ibid. ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Οἰνεῶνα τῆς Λοκρίδος, ὅθενπερ καὶ ὡρμήθησαν.* Cf. Steph. Byz. *Οἰνεών, Λοκρίδος λιμήν. Θουκυδίδης τρίτῃ.*

[5] Leake, N. G. ii. 616, makes the remark that 'there is reason to

At what point, then, on the coast between the mouth of the Mórnos and the Krissaian gulf are we to find the site? The account of the march of Eurylochos clearly shows that it must be in Western Lokris, for Oineon and Eupalion are named as falling into his hands immediately before he enters the territory of Naupaktos [1]. The geography of the Lokrian coast compels us to restrict still further the limits within which we may direct our search. We cannot go east of the promontory Psaromýta [2]. From the Tríkorpho range, the general direction of which is from north-east to south-west, two short parallel mountain lines run down to the south-east as far as the sea. Mount Kútsoros [3], the most easterly of the two lines, begins near the village of Sóstaina, above the valley of Malandhríno and Lidhoríki. The line on the west, —Mount Turlá [4],—is of somewhat greater length than that of Mount Kútsoros, because it runs out into the Gulf in order to form the cape called Psaromýta. Between the two ranges a torrent falls into the sea by Vitrinítsa, immediately east of the promontory, and the interval between their extremities is occupied by the roadsteads of Vitrinítsa and Kíseli [5], which are separated from each other by a low rocky point. If Oineon lay east of Cape Psaromýta we should expect to find it in the harbour of Vitrinítsa, which Leake calls Polypórtu [6]: there is, in fact, an ancient site near Vitri-

believe that the territory of Oeneon bordered immediately upon that of Naupactus,' being separated from it by the Mórnos. He infers this from the fact that 'the Nemeion of Oeneon, from whence Demosthenes commenced his march, was the place where the poet Hesiod was said to have been killed; and Pausanias, in speaking of the sepulchre of Hesiod, at Orchomenus in Boeotia, asserts that his bones had been brought thither from the Naupactia.' But, even if we allowed that the temple was in the territory of Oineon, we could not deduce Leake's conclusion from a comparison of the two passages. For we learn from Plutarch, *Sept. Sap. Conv.* xix, that Hesiod's body was carried by dolphins 'to Rhion and Molykria,' the distance through which it was transported not being stated. On our theory, the territory of Eupalion intervened between that of Oineon and the Naupaktia.

[1] Leake, N. G. iii. 102.

[2] Ψαρομύτη.

[3] Κούτσορος.

[4] Τουρλᾶ.

[5] Βιτρινίτσα. Κίσελη, Κισέλι, Κισελή.

[6] N. G. ii. 598, 620. Vitrinitsa is generally held to mark the site of Tolophon. See Bursian, *Geogr.* i. 149. But the topography of this coast is not yet finally settled. The temple which I mention has, of course,

nítsa, containing the remains of a temple. We should, however, be at a loss to assign a reason for Demosthenes having selected this point for his base, as, in order to reach the Aetolians, he would first have to cross the range which we have described as extending inland from Cape Psaromýta, throwing off numerous spurs on the west towards the Mórnos. The ascent of these mountains, or of Mount Tríkorpho itself by following up the Vitrinítsa river, could not have been avoided by the Athenians if their point of departure lay east of Psaromýta, for no one now supposes that Apodotia extended south of the Tríkorpho range: the generally accepted opinion, indeed, is that it fell north even of the river Mórnos. It is obvious that Demosthenes was far more easily able to effect his object by landing at some point west of Psaromýta, in order to turn the Turlá mountains. For this reason, therefore, there can be little doubt that Oineon must be sought between the Mórnos and Cape Psaromýta.

Several ancient sites are found on the coast within the limits which we have indicated. The first lies on the mainland opposite Trizónia, the crescent-shaped island that resembles Santoríni [1]. Hellenic ruins are also found on the island itself. Following the shore westwards for about three hours we reach the village of Klíma [2], at which ancient remains are to be seen. The most important site in the district is still farther to the west. It is known as the Palaiókastron of Sulés [3], from the village of that name lying at the north-eastern foot of the hill occupied by the fortress. The hill itself rises to an elevation of about eight hundred feet above the level of the sea. Towards the south-east a saddle connects it with a lower eminence projecting seawards but separated from the Gulf by a branch of the plain which, with gradually diminishing breadth, extends eastwards from the Mórnos, being, in fact, the maritime continuation of the plain

been converted to Christian uses in post-Hellenic times. Its plan is interesting, but I am not aware that it has ever been published. I could not discover any inscriptions.

[1] Τροιζώνια. Cf. Leake, N. G. ii. 598. It appears as Shifonie in Pococke's *Description of the East*, ii. 175.

[2] Κλῆμα. Cf. Leake, N. G. ii. 622.

[3] Σουλές.

called Pilála[1]. On the western side of the seaward height the plain forms a bay, in which is a marsh now called Guvós[2]. Traces of masonry are said to be visible in the depths of the pool.

Sulés is of comparatively modern date, and consequently does not appear in the pages of Leake[3]. There is, therefore, some slight difficulty in connecting our description with his account, but there is no doubt that he alludes to the Palaiókastron. He says[4]:—

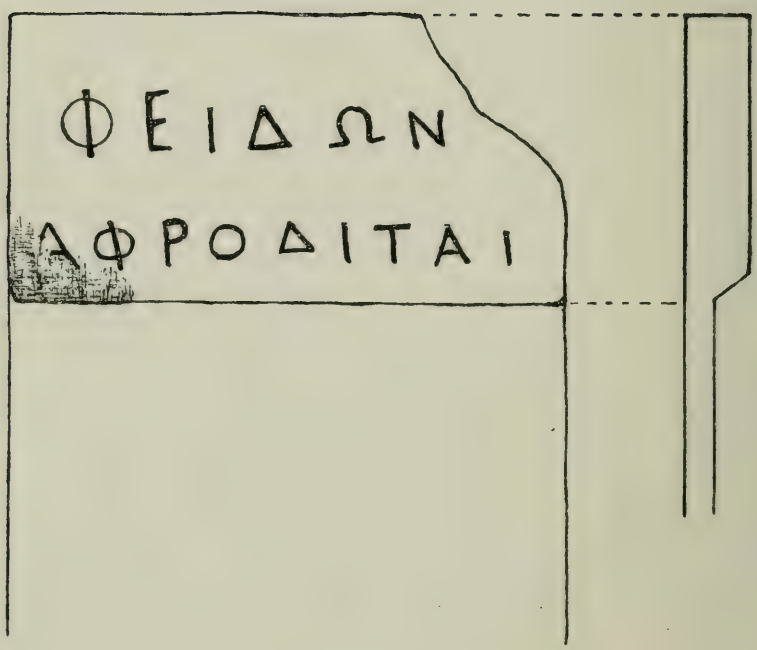
'We reach the foot of the mountain, at a place called Magúla, where is some cultivated land around a khan which has been lately built by the Vóivoda of Lidhoríki, and is hence named the Khan of Ferát Agá. It stands on the edge of a narrow plain two miles long, bounded by the mountains we have descended, towards the north; and on the opposite side by a range of lower heights, beyond which is a maritime plain, forming part of the territory of Épakto. On the highest of the latter hills, and on the last towards the river Mornó, stands a Hellenic castle . . . its walls were of the third species of masonry, and it occupied only the round summit of the hill.'

Leake's time-table proves that he did not ascend the hill, nor did Bazin. It is extremely steep on the southern side, that is to say towards the maritime plain, and in fact all round, except on the east, where it slopes more gently towards the village and a depression which separates it from lower heights extending in the direction of Klíma. The walls of the kástro are much ruined, but they can be traced round the summit of the hill: their breadth is about ten feet. The masonry is somewhat unequal in style, but in general it is in 'regular Hellenic,' of an undeveloped form. On the eastern slope are many foundations, apparently of public buildings; as the entire hill is cultivated, these vestiges have been too much damaged to allow of their plan being made out by mere inspection. The surface of the ground on this side is covered with tiles. A single inscription is all that survives of the many that must have been discovered. It is

[1] See p. 331. [2] Γουβός.

[3] Yet it is mentioned by Pouq. *Voy.* iv. 51, who puts it west of the Mórnos. But Pouqueville's travels (?) were posterior in date to those of Leake, although the *Voyage de la Grèce* was published eight or nine years before the *Travels in Northern Greece.*

[4] N. G. ii. 606. He is descending Mount Vígla from the monastery of Varnákova.



23. INSCRIBED SLAB AT SULÉS.

To face p. 347.

a dedication to Aphrodite, of an earlier period than most of the inscriptions found in this region. The letters are $1\frac{1}{4}''$ high, on a rough slab of sandstone. The stone is perhaps perfect, but it is much worn, as it had formed part of the pavement of a threshing-floor for years [1].

Φείδων
Ἀφροδίτᾳ.

If we follow the ridge above the marsh of Guvós until we reach the rear of the conical eminence near the sea we find other remains. They seem to be tombs. We crawl under a large stone lintel into a small square chamber cut in the rock. Opposite the entrance the rock is again cut, in the form of an arch, admitting probably to a similar chamber: but the accumulation of earth prevents farther progress.

One or other of the sites which we have enumerated must be that of Oineon. Bazin selects the kástro of Sulés [2]. It is an obvious criticism, and one anticipated nearly forty years ago by Becker [3], that this palaiókastron will not really answer to the description of Oineon as a maritime town. True, it may be contended that the deposits of the Mórnos have effected some changes in this region, and that perhaps the whole of the maritime plain south of the kástro of Sulés should be regarded as a comparatively recent growth. Nevertheless, the admission that the marsh of Guvós is the last vestige of a former bay of the sea does not involve the further admission that the town at Sulés was a seaport. It is clear from the remains that the connexion of the town must have been with the plain intervening between Sulés and Mount Vígla, rather than with the sea on the southern side of the hill.

A still stronger argument against the identification proposed by Bazin [4] is to be found in the impossibility of recon-

[1] I transferred it to the Demarchíon. The measurements of the slab in its present state are:—height, ·30^{m}; width, ·27^{m}.

[2] *Mém.* p. 303. So also Bursian, *Geogr.* i. 148.

[3] *Diss.* iii. 9, *note* 38.

[4] Bazin professes to follow the authority of Leake, but as a matter of fact Leake does not put Oineon at Sulés. He says (N. G. ii. 617):

ciling it with what we know about Eupalion. From the fact that Demosthenes sent back his booty out of Aetolia to Eupalion, we are driven to infer that Eupalion was the nearest Lokrian town of importance,—in other words, that it was not a seaport: otherwise, either Oineon would have been chosen as the place of deposit, or Eupalion as the place of landing[1]. This inference is in harmony with a passage of Livy which gives an account of a flying visit paid to this coast by Philip of Macedon. In 207 B.C. he made a descent 'at Erythrai of the Aetolians, which is near Eupalion[2].' Erythrai seems to have been the port, or *skála* as the modern Greeks call it, of Eupalion.

Again, Oineon and Eupalion are mentioned together as having refused to submit to Eurylochos until compelled to do so by force of arms, and they are evidently the last towns of Lokris towards the west[3]. This appears to be implied distinctly in certain words of Strabo, which at the same time justify our inference as to the character of the site of Eupalion. He says that the frontier of Aetolia Epiktetos extends towards Naupaktos and Eupalion[4]. He is, of course, speaking of the period previous to the absorption of Lokris by the Aetolian League.

Summing up, then, we conclude that Eupalion was a town of some strength, lying near the Aetolian frontier, and not far east of the river Mórnos. Yet, on the supposition that Mounts Tríkorpho and Vígla constituted the frontier, the Lokrian territory intervening between the Aetolians and the sea is reduced to a strip not exceeding five miles in

'Oeneon stood perhaps at Magúla, or near the fountain Ámbla, and the paleó kastro may have been the fortified enclosure of the Nemeium.' Both Magúla and Ámbla are some distance up the valley, north-east of Sulés. How either of them could be regarded as maritime sites Leake does not explain. Nevertheless, Leake knows that Oineon was a seaport, for cf. N. G. ii. 613, *note* 1.

[1] So Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 4, reckons Eupalia, as he calls it, among the inland towns of Lokris. But his authority is not of much value, independently of other evidence.

[2] Livy, xxviii. 8: ad Erythras Aetolorum, quae prope Eupalium sunt.

[3] Thuc. iii. 102: *ἐχώρει τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον . . . καὶ πορευόμενος Οἰνεῶνα αἱρεῖ αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐπάλιον . . . γενόμενοι δ' ἐν τῇ Ναυπακτίᾳ, κ.τ.λ.*

[4] Str. p. 450: *ἐπίκτητον δὲ τὴν τοῖς Λοκροῖς συνάπτουσαν ὡς ἐπὶ Ναύπακτόν τε καὶ Εὐπάλιον.*

breadth, so that Eupalion cannot have been far removed from the coast. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the suitability of the site at Sulés for Eupalion and its landing-place Erythrai.

An argument that should not be overlooked is to be found in the meaning of the name Erythrai (red). It is not unlikely that the name survives in that of Kókkinos, which also means 'red,' given to the roadstead on the east of the Mórnos estuary[1], and that both appellations are derived from the colour of the water impregnated with alluvium. This discolouration of the waters of the Gulf is very noticeable in approaching Naupaktos from Vitrinítsa or Aigion. In ancient times the mouth of the Mórnos would probably lie somewhat to the north or north-east of its present position, and therefore nearer the site that we assign to Eupalion and its *skála*.

On the other hand, if we suppose Sulés to represent Oineon we are involved in difficulties, as then no site that can be suggested for Eupalion is in accordance with the evidence respecting the situation of that town.

Leake, for example, imagines Eupalion to have stood 'in the plain of Marathiá, opposite to the islands Trisónia or Trazónia, where some ruins of an ancient city still exist on the eastern side of the plain, at no great distance from the sea[2].' This supposition is quite irreconcilable with the assertion of Strabo concerning the Aetolian frontier. Nor is it in harmony with the order of words in Thucydides, who mentions Oineon before Eupalion[3]. Lastly, Leake's sug-

[1] Cf. Dodwell, *Tour.* i. 129: 'the port, village, and monastery, called Kokino.' The French Map marks *Cap Kokkino* almost due south of the kástro of Sulés, as the eastern extremity of the *Plaine marécageuse* lying east of the Mórnos.

[2] N. G. ii. 618.

[3] Thuc. iii. 102. Taken alone, of course, no argument could be weaker than this appeal to the order of words, for, although the true geographical sequence is strictly observed after Eurylochos has entered the Naupaktia until he reaches his halting-place at Proschion near the Acheloos, yet the list of Lokrian cities that surrendered hostages is clearly not arranged according to their true order. We should, indeed, hardly expect to find the geographical sequence observed in it, whereas when the historian comes to narrate events connected with the towns he would naturally adopt the true sequence. He seems here to adopt it with the mention of the capture of Oineon.

gestion fails to realize the details of the above-mentioned passage of Livy. We read that the debarkation of Philip's marauders 'did not escape the notice of the Aetolians; all the people in the fields, or in the neighbouring forts of Potidania and Apollonia [1], fled for refuge to the forests and mountains.' It is extremely fortunate that the name Potidania occurs here, as that is the link which connects this passage and its topography with the Athenian invasion of 426 B. C. If we put Eupalion near Trizónia we are unable to fix upon the sites corresponding to the 'neighbouring forts of Potidania and Apollonia'; whereas, if Eupalion is put at the kástro of Sulés, all is perfectly clear, as will appear in due course.

A fair review of the evidence given above cannot fail to convince us that the identification of the palaiókastron of Sulés with Eupalion must be accepted. For this identification Becker must have the credit [2]. Nevertheless, Leake also is partly right; namely, in his conjecture that the kástro of Sulés marks the site of the Nemeion [3], although he had an inaccurate conception of the relation of the temple to Oineon. He imagined, as all topographers since his day have imagined, that the temple of Zeus belonged to Oineon [4]. That opinion is surely mistaken. For, if we hold the temple to have been close to Oineon, how explain the insertion of the words, 'he encamped the first night in the temple of Nemeian Zeus' *after* the words 'starting from Oineon in Lokris [5]'? The natural meaning of the passage is undoubtedly the best. The expressions quoted reproduce two distinct moments in the campaign, in their proper sequence. The army moved out of Oineon and bivouacked that night

[1] Livy, *l. c.*: aut in propinquis castellis Potidaniae atque Apolloniae.

[2] *Diss.* iii. 9, *note* 38: 'Haud quidquam obstare puto, quo minus muros dirutos antiquos a Leakio in colle quodam repertos, qui ab oriente Naupactio agro, sed sinistrae tamen Hylaethi ripae imminent, Eupaliensium quondam fuisse censeamus.'

[3] N. G. ii. 617, quoted on p. 347, *note* 4.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 616. Cf. Bazin, *Mém.* p. 302; Bursian, *Geogr.* i. 148: 'Zum Gebiet von Oineon gehörte ein von einem Haine umgebenes Heiligthum des Ζεὺς Νέμειος.'

[5] Thuc. iii. 95 fol.: ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Αἰτωλούς. Ὡρμᾶτο δὲ ἐξ Οἰνεῶνος τῆς Λοκρίδος . . . αὐλισάμενος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμείου τῷ ἱερῷ . . . ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ ἄρας ἐπορεύετο ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν.

at the temple of Zeus, which lay within an easy march of the frontier. We must assign the Nemeion, not to Oineon, but to Eupalion.

This view has the advantage of explaining why Demosthenes was content to make only the short stage from Oineon to Eupalion during the first day of the campaign. It was because in Eupalion he had to arrange with the Lokrians for the despatch of their light infantry along the route that he was intending to follow into Aetolian territory. Eupalion would be the natural centre in this part of Lokris, from which to issue the invitation to join the expedition[1]. It must be remembered that the whole undertaking was an afterthought, which came to interrupt the operations in which the Athenians had been engaged on the Akarnanian coast, and that the Lokrians would require time in order to collect their forces. On the other hand, the desire to anticipate defensive action on the part of the Aetolians made Demosthenes unwilling to delay his advance until the Lokrian militia was mobilized; and after all we find that he did not fall upon the Aetolians unawares. The sequel will show how the Athenian general was impaled upon the horns of a fatal dilemma, vacillating between the alternatives of a daring initiative and a cautious methodical policy, until his enemies forced upon him a solution in the shape of hopeless retreat.

Where then are we to locate Oineon, seeing that the kástro of Sulés is proved to be impossible? We must

[1] That 'invitation' is the correct word, is clear from the sequel. Although the Lokrians were supposed to be allies of the Athenians, there was nothing in that relation to compel them to go upon active service; and, in spite of their promises, they do not seem to have made any attempt to join Demosthenes or to cover his retreat. Even Chromon, the official guide of the expedition, was not a Lokrian, but a Messenian of Naupaktos. The truth is, that the Lokrians were something more than merely ὅμοροι and ὁμόσκευοι with the Aetolians. They had assuredly no desire to see Athens mistress of the mainland beyond their own frontiers, or to exchange their own vague ξυμμαχία for a more definite and irksome bond. There may well have been some secret understanding between the Lokrians and the Aetolians with regard to the invasion. The relation of Lokris to Aetolia, not only in this period, but later, during the growth and supremacy of the League, is scarcely apprehended correctly by the historians; cf. Paus. x. 38. 4.

put it at Klíma[1]. The name of that site points to the identification, for, like that of the ancient Oineon, it is derived from the culture of the vine. The geography of the district is also in harmony with the proposal, because the site at Klíma has an intimate natural connexion with the valley of Sulés, leading to the north-east, up which Demosthenes advanced into Apodotia. Nothing was to be gained by landing more to the east.

Nor, by putting Oineon at Klíma, shall we be compelled to leave the site opposite the island of Trizónia nameless. The passage of Livy again comes to our aid. We are told that before landing at Erythrai Philip put into Antikyra. This Antikyra must not be confounded with the better known town of the same name on the Phokian coast[2]. This is clearly proved by reference to another passage in Livy. When the Romans were co-operating with the Aetolians in 'that infamous league of plunder which made the name of Aetolia to stink throughout all Greece[3],' the Praetor Laevinus besieged Antikyra both by sea and land. The town stood so near the sea that he brought his engines on board the ships to bear upon the walls. Livy describes this Antikyra, probably after Polybios, as 'a town of Lokris, situated on the left as you enter the Corinthian Gulf, and at a short distance, both by land and sea, from Naupaktos[4].' Leake is inclined to put it at Klíma[5], but we should prefer to identify it with the ruins facing Trizónia[6]. The derivation of the word Antikyra is in our favour. As in all the numerous similarly compounded place-names of ancient Greece, the *ἀντί* indicates 'relative position[7].' We imagine the vestiges seen on the island itself to be those of a town Kyra or Kirrha[8]; that on the mainland being Antikyra.

[1] Becker, *Diss. l.c.*, puts Oineon at the site chosen by Leake for Eupalion, i.e. opposite the island of Trizónia.

[2] Cf. Leake, N. G. ii. 543 fol.

[3] Freeman, *Hist. of Federal Greece*, p. 449.

[4] Livy, xxvi. 26: Sita Anticyra est in Locride laeva parte sinum Corinthiacum intrantibus, breve iter terra eo, brevis navigatio a Naupacto est.

[5] N. G. ii. 622.

[6] So Bursian (*Geogr.* i. 148) puts Antikyra 'wahrscheinlich der kleinen jetzt Τριζώνια genannten Insel . . . gegenüber,' but without giving any reason for the identification.

[7] Cf. Tozer, *Lectures on the Geogr. of Greece*, p. 356.

[8] And to it I should refer the ethnic Κυραιεύς in *Samm. Coll.* 1842 =



PLAIN OF THE MORNOS: ANTIRRHION AND MOUNT KLOKOVA IN THE DISTANCE.

Let us now follow Demosthenes into Apodotia. There is only one natural route leading from the coast into the interior; that is the narrow plain which runs eastwards from Sulés. On the southern side of this valley, and intervening between it and the maritime plain, are the hills which start from Sulés and run up towards Mount Tríkorpho in the north-east. On the northern side of the valley are the foot-hills of Vígla, the range which extends westwards from Tríkorpho to the Mórnos. The extremities of Mount Vígla and the range Makrývoros in Krávari form the gorge, two miles in length, from which the Mórnos issues into the plain of Naupaktos. It is to the slopes of Mount Vígla, therefore, that we must direct our search for the remains of the towns captured by the Athenians.

Potidania, the first place to fall before the invaders, must have been the nearest of all the Aetolian towns to Eupalion (Sulés). It can, therefore, be identified only with the ruins found above Omér Efféndi[1]. Omér Efféndi lies about forty minutes to the west of Sulés; it is the last village towards the Mórnos, and is situated exactly opposite to the only ford of the river. As in Leake's time[2], the ford is just at the southern end of the above-mentioned gorge. Hard above the river, bearing north from the village, there rises a round hill, with a kástro on its summit. Beyond the fact of its existence little can be said about the ruin, as the ring-wall is almost obliterated. The area enclosed is very small. The last low spur projecting southwards in the direction of the Mórnos is called Kastráki, and it may have contained an outwork to command the ford.

The local archaeologists maintain that Potidania must lie two hours to the east of Sulés, at a site marked by the

W.-F. 177, where, in an inscription from Delphi, we read: *ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέος μηνὸς Ὑχαίου ἀπέδοτο Εὔανδρος Κυραιεύς, κ.τ.λ.* Baunack *in loc.* remarks: 'Ist das Ethnikon Κυραιεύς gleich Κιρραιεύς?' The date of the record may be between 174 and 156 B. C.

[1] Bazin knows nothing of these remains; nor does Leake, although his words (N. G. ii. 606): 'On the highest of the latter hills, and on the last towards the river Mornó, stands a Hellenic castle,' are ambiguous. But he proceeds to describe only one palaiókastro, that of Sulés.

[2] N. G. ii. 607. The ford must have been at this point in Hellenic times also. In winter and spring it is dangerous, and even in summer great difficulty is often experienced in crossing.

village of Kámbi[1]. Here also remains are found; namely, on the ridge three quarters of an hour to the east of the village. This ridge is a southern offshoot from Mount Vígla, running down to the sea at Klíma. On it stands a ruined church of Hághios Nikólaos composed of ancient materials[2]: but no traces of an enceinte can now be discovered, nor yet of any stones *in situ*, although the numerous terrace-walls among the oaks are all constructed of dressed rectangular blocks which must originally have belonged to Hellenic work of fair style. Following the ridge in the direction of the sea, we reach that portion of the site which is called 'the Tombs[3],' from the ancient graves which are there discovered. A little distance beyond this, still going in the same direction, we find the foundations of two square redoubts similar to those of the Paracheloïtis.

The object of these outworks is very intelligible. They overlook the whole coast as far as Naupaktos and Antirrhion, as well as the rough hill country on the east of the ridge as far as the bold line of Mount Tríkorpho and the offshoots which, under the name of Mount Turlá, extend southwards beyond the island of Trizónia down to Cape Psaromýta. They also command the path to the sea by way of Kupléus and Klíma, or to the maritime plain lying between those villages and Sulés. It must have been impossible for an enemy to land at any point between Klíma and the mouth of the Mórnos without attracting the attention of the sentinels in the forts. Long before he could arrive, either from the maritime plain or by way of the valley of Sulés, the inhabitants of the town on the ridge would have fled or have put themselves in a posture of

[1] Κάμποι, Κάμπος. The village, a very poor one, lies on long slopes facing west. On the end of the ridge, fifteen minutes to the west of the houses, are three upright stones in a line from north to south. That at the northern end of the line is six or seven feet high; that in the centre is two yards to the south and not so high; the last, at the same interval, is still shorter. No other remains are visible. The site is regarded as sacred by the villagers.

[2] Concealed somewhere on the site is an inscription. It is known to the present (1893) Demarch of Sulés, who designed its removal to the Demarchíon. I could not prevail upon him to show it to me, nor could I find it. The French Map seems to call the site Palaiómylos.

[3] 's τὰ μνήματα.

defence. As we stand upon the height and gaze upon the picture at our feet we recall the narrative of Livy to which we have already more than once referred. Surely here is one of the forts which, in 207 B.C., were startled by the Macedonian king. 'He came to Erythrai, a place of the Aetolians, close to Eupalion, and there he made a descent. He did not catch the Aetolians unawares[1]; for the people who were in the fields, or in the neighbouring forts of Potidania and Apollonia, fled for refuge to the woods and hills. The cattle, which they had not time to drive off, were lifted, and put on the ships.

That the site at Kámbi is that of Apollonia is easily proved[2]. For, in the first place, if it were to be identified as Potidania we should be committed to the supposition that the Aetolian frontier approached to within two or three miles of the sea; thus leaving, in fact, only the site at Klíma as a purely Lokrian town on the coast, and severing the territory of Eupalion from Eastern Lokris in a most undesirable way. In the second place, the fact that Apollonia is not mentioned as succumbing to the Athenian arms seems to indicate that it was a Lokrian settlement; in which case the position at Kámbi is more appropriate for it than is that above Omér Efféndi. It may be objected that the name Apollonia does not occur in the list of Lokrian towns from which Eurylochos received hostages[3]. Is it possible, then, that Apollonia was not in existence in 426 B.C.? Even if we ventured to affirm this, it would be an additional argument for locating the place at Kámbi; for the style of work

[1] Livy, xxviii. 8: Haud fefellit Aetolos; nam hominum quod aut in agris, aut in propinquis castellis Potidaniae atque Apolloniae fuit, in silvas montesque refugit. Pecora, quae inter festinationem abigi nequierant, sunt direpta et in naves compulsa.

[2] There is no doubt that if Leake had been aware of the ancient site at Kámbi he would have identified it with Potidania; for, putting Eupalion opposite the island of Trizónia (cf. p. 349), he says that 'Potidania seems to have bordered on Eupalium, towards the interior.' See N. G. ii. 618. And similarly Bazin, *Mém.* p. 304, writes: 'Il faudrait chercher Potidanie, par exemple, aux environs du village de Koupléous,' thus merely reproducing Leake, for Bazin also was unaware of the site at Kámbi. On the other hand, Bazin (*Mém.* p. 305) correctly identifies Ghumaïï with Krokyleion, and Lykochóri with Teichion.

[3] Thuc. iii. 101.

seen at that site is distinctly better, and probably later, than that displayed at the kástro of Omér Efféndi[1]. Apollonia, therefore, must be placed on the ridge above Kámbi, and Potidania on the hill above Omér Efféndi.

The following day was signalized by the capture of Krokyleion. The only direction open to the Athenians after leaving Potidania was that to the north-east. They had begun the campaign with the capture of the extreme western village of Apodotia, in the angle of the Mórnos, and they now carry their arms through Apodotia, attacking the villages in succession[2]. This course would next bring them to the ruins above Ghumaïï[3]. They are on a projection of Mount Vígla, some five or six miles to the north-east of the kástro to which we have given the name Potidania. Leake has described them, in the account of his descent from the monastery of Varnákova[4]. The kástro lies on the summit of the ridge. On the south, facing the sea, the hill forms a precipice; on the opposite side it sinks more gently, towards the bed of a small torrent flowing to the Mórnos. A forest of oaks covers the slopes in this direction. The wall remains in some places to a height of six or seven feet; in others it is completely destroyed. It is constructed of narrow blocks varying much in size and carelessly dressed: the style must be classed as a rude form of 'irregular Hellenic.' In the northern wall there is a gateway, a simple aperture about three feet wide without any flank defence. The site rises towards the west, where there are the remains of an akropolis, the wall of which is built in a superior style to

[1] The identifications in the text correspond with the course of Aetolian history. The cult of Poseidon (to which the name Potidania bears reference) is evidence of a connexion with Lokris, while that of Apollo is decidedly Aetolian. Potidania, I imagine, was originally a Lokrian town, taken possession of by the Aetolians in their expansion southwards to the sea. Apollonia, on the other hand, was an Aetolian foundation, belonging to that comparatively late date when the League had in its hands the entire seaboard on this side of the Corinthian Gulf. If we rightly thus interpret the remains, Apollonia was not in existence at the time of the expedition of Demosthenes, and the second argument in this paragraph must be omitted.

[2] *τὴν ἐν ποσὶν ἀεί.*

[3] *Γκουμαῖοι.* The French 'Gouméi' represents the sound of the final syllables. The vulgar usage is to make the name a feminine singular,—*'ς τὴγ Γουμαίην.*

[4] N. G. ii. 605.

that of the outer fortifications. At this point we also find a few dressed stones with simple mouldings,—perhaps the vestiges of a sacred building[1]. The area included within the fortifications is very small. On the east, immediately below the kástro, a small church dedicated to the Holy Apostles lies in ruins; it has been built entirely of blocks taken from the fortress[2].

One hour's ride to the north along the forest-clad slopes brings us to the monastery of Varnákova[3]. It is entirely a modern reconstruction, and consequently presents a poor and mean appearance. It stands in a lofty situation, but the view from it is restricted,—on the east by Mounts Vígla and Tríkorpho; on the west by the heights which occupy the angle of the Mórnos; on the south by the ridge upon which stands the kástro of Ghumaïï. To the north the prospect is more open. In this direction we overlook the Mórnos valley, on the far side of which rises the line of the mountains of Krávari: in the north-east towers the white crest of Vardhúsi. Historically, the monastery is interesting, as it once contained the tombs of two Emperors. During the War of Independence it stood a siege at the hands of the Turks, who blew the place to pieces on gaining possession of it. Now all that is worth inspection is a beautiful silver reliquary[4].

Leaving the monastery we take the rough path leading eastwards, and descend twelve hundred feet to the bed of the torrent which we have mentioned as flowing to the Mórnos from below the kástro of Ghumaïï. Then, crossing the opposite ridge, we reach the village of Lykochóri, taking about

[1] Called, as usual, Τὰ *μάρμαρα* by the peasants. Cf. Baz. *Mém.* p. 304.

[2] The hill on which this kástro stands does not rise directly from the valley of Sulés. A lower ridge intervenes, bearing the modern village of Ghumaïï; on its crest, along both sides of the bridle-path, are numerous squared stones carefully wrought, many of them with sinkings for metal cramps. They may have belonged to small monuments. The place at which they are seen is called *τοῦ ἀλόγου ἡ πατσά*, or Ἀλογουπατσάς, from a natural mark resembling the print of a horse's hoof in a large block by the road-side. The block is now lying in four pieces, having been broken by treasure-seekers. Leake (N. G. ii. 606) notices these remains, but wrongly takes them to indicate the existence of an outlying fort dependent upon that described in the text as occupying the ridge north of Ghumaïï.

[3] Ἡ Βαρνάκοβας Μονή.

[4] See an article by Ν. Ι. Σολωμός, in Παρνασσός, Vol. i. *Sept.* 1877.

two and a half hours from Varnákova. Lykochóri[1] lies on the northern face of Mount Vígla, the range falling in long slopes or terraces to the Mórnos; from the opposite bank of the river a similar slope rises to the lofty summits of the central range of Krávari. The village is richer in remains of antiquity than is any other site in Apodotia. A quarter of an hour to the west, the θέσις Varná, which is marked by a ruined church of the Holy Apostles, produces coins and fragments of Hellenic masonry, with occasional works of small art in bronze. A large inscribed slab was also discovered, but this was destroyed for building purposes. An undecipherable fragment of a stele of very late date is still in existence, coming from the neighbourhood of the church of Saint John the Baptist. The most important site lies below the village. It is a small rocky height on the left bank of the Mórnos, just above, i.e. east of, the junction of the révma of Limnísta[2] with the main river. On the hill is a church dedicated to Saint John the Divine. The walls of the fortress are in a poor state of preservation: on the western slope of the height tombs and fragments of tiles are found. The site goes by the name of Καταφῖδι; which is a corruption of Καταφύγιον, i.e. 'the Place of Refuge.'

We can have no hesitation in accepting Bazin's identification of these ruins as those of Teichion[3]. Leake, who is determined to reserve the site at Ghumaïï for Aigition[4], finds himself in difficulties. Locating Eupalion opposite the island of Trizónia, he says:—

'Potidania seems to have bordered on Eupalium, towards the interior. Crocylium and Tichium were fortresses still further in the same direction, probably in the valley of the Mornó, where the ruins near Lykokhóri may correspond to one of them[5].'

He has thus only this one site for the two claimants, and

[1] Λυκοχώριον. Kámbi lies two hours due south of Lykochóri, on the seaward face of Mount Vígla.

[2] The révma of Limnísta is the 'stream which descends from Mount Makrývoro and passes near Vetolísta' of Leake, N. G. ii. 605. Cf. *id.* p. 602. When he says that the ruin is 'below' its junction with the Mórnos, we must remember that he was looking from Varnákova. His map shows that he was under no misapprehension as to the true geographical relations.

[3] *Mém.* p. 305. [4] N. G. ii. 617. [5] *Ibid.* p. 618.

Teichion is perforce omitted from his map. Leake's hypothesis takes the Athenians round by the east up the slopes of Mount Vigla into the Mórnos valley, from which they issue by way of Ghumaïï into the plain of Sulés.

Bazin has not failed to recognize the difficulties in the way of identifying the palaiókastron of Ghumaïï as Aigition, although in the main his topography is simply that of Leake [1]. He urges three objections:—the too contracted area that Leake's hypothesis assigns for the tragedy; the absence of anything in the surroundings of Ghumaïï to recall the ravines that proved death-traps to the fugitives; and the difficulty of supposing that the Athenians could have missed their way into the valley of Sulés leading straight to the sea in full view below them [2]. To these general considerations we may add others. In the first place, it is impossible to imagine that an invader starting from the coast would have failed to make the stronghold of Ghumaïï his first objective point, seeing that it is obviously the key of the route leading into the valley of the Mórnos. Leake makes Demosthenes push forward at once to the river, leaving this fortress untouched upon his line of communication. Secondly, we cannot admit that the Aetolians would have allowed themselves to be surrounded, as Leake's theory demands. If, before attacking the fort at Ghumaïï, Demosthenes had already made himself master of the rest of the country as far as the Mórnos, the Aetolians were hopelessly entrapped in the angle formed by the sudden change in the course of the river, and they would have run the risk of being crushed between the Athenian forces and the Lokrian contingent advancing from Eupalion [3]. Even if victorious the Aetolians were equally at a disadvantage, for immediately below the kástro of Ghumaïï is the valley of Sulés, in which the fugitive Athenians would be safe [4].

The single item of definite information that stands out so conspicuously in the account given by Thucydides con-

[1] *Mém.* p. 304.

[2] Leake himself, N. G. ii. 603, remarks on the 'interesting view' over the Gulf as he descended towards Sulés from the monastery.

[3] Unless, as we have hinted above (p. 351, *note* 1), the Aetolians knew that there was nothing to be feared from the Lokrian side.

[4] Especially so upon Leake's theory, as he puts Oineon on the northern side of the valley, below the heights of Ghumaïï. See p. 347, *note* 4.

clusively proves that Aigition cannot have been at Ghumaïï. Aigition lay about eighty stades from the sea[1]. Now, although Leake declares that the remains at Ghumaïï 'are at the distance from the sea, mentioned by the historian[2],' this is not the case; and Leake cannot be acquitted of special pleading, because the correct distance is deducible from his own itinerary. 'On the descent, at an hour and a half short of the maritime plain[3],' Leake turned aside through the forest to the right, in order to reach the monastery of Varnákova; he was, therefore, at most, five or six miles from the coast. Next morning he struck 'the high road at a spot half an hour in advance of the place where we left it yesterday evening[4]'; at this point he notices the kástro of Ghumaïï, which is thus indirectly stated to be one hour distant from the maritime plain. This should mean three or four miles; if we say five we allow an ample margin for error of judgement. And this is in accordance with fact, for the distance of Ghumaïï from Klíma is officially reckoned one hour and a quarter (i. e. four miles). The largest reasonable estimate of the interval between the palaiókastron and the sea could not exceed fifty stades[5].

Finally, Leake entirely misses the point of the passage in which the name of Aigition is introduced: nor is he alone in this. His idea is that Demosthenes halted at Teichion with the intention of retiring upon Naupaktos, because he had not been reinforced by the Lokrians, but that this intention was subsequently abandoned[6]. Upon Leake's

[1] Thuc. iii. 97: *ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν χωρίων ἀπέχουσα τῆς θαλάσσης ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα.*

[2] N. G. ii. 617.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 603.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 605.

[5] Putting it so high in order to make allowance for the circumstance that Klíma does not lie on the shore, but on the mountain side. The distance in an air-line from Ghumaïï kástro to Port Marathiás just west of the Cape of that name, immediately below Klíma, is $7\frac{1}{2}$ kilomètres: which is short of 5 miles, i. e. 40 stades.

[6] N. G. ii. 618. Leake flies in the face of facts. He asserts that it was along the valley of the Mórnos that Demosthenes intended to make his retreat towards Naupaktos. This valley, he says, 'was conveniently situated for that retreat upon Naupactus, which Demosthenes had intended before his attack of Aegitium.' But this is maintained simply in order to realize the condition that forms the subject of the paragraph in the text.

scheme, however, the advance on Aigition *does not involve such abandonment*, seeing that Ghumaïï lies directly in the path of an army marching out of Apodotia to Naupaktos. And what, on his hypothesis, is the reference in the words τἄλλα καταστρεψάμενος, which he refuses to recognize or to quote with the rest of the sentence[1],—what were the operations which Demosthenes desired to complete before beginning his retreat upon Naupaktos?

The interpretation of the sentence in which those words occur furnishes the key to the site of Aigition. In a previous Chapter its meaning has been partially revealed[2]. We have pointed out how Demosthenes changed his plans, and halted at Teichion, because farther advance would have taken him into Ophioneia. He shrank from attacking the Ophioneis until he had subdued the Apodotoi[3]. He hoped, indeed, that the Ophioneis would be terrified into voluntary submission. Moreover, he dared not venture farther, unsupported by the Lokrian light infantry: he would await them at Teichion before undertaking operations even against the rest of the Apodotoi.

Thus precious time was wasted, and yet no Lokrians appeared. The Messenians in the meantime were urgent with their reiterated advice[4],—to give the Aetolians no time for concerted action, but to paralyze their resistance by vigorous initiative. The successes scored on the opening days of the campaign had also, perhaps, created a false estimate of the enemy. The advice of the Messenians was perfectly sound, but it was then too late to adopt it. The opportunity had been neglected from the first: the fatal necessity of allowing the Lokrian troops time to concentrate at Eupalion had compelled the Athenians to content themselves with ridiculously short stages during the first three days of the advance.

At length Demosthenes consented to change his plans once more[5]. He reverted to the original scheme, to the

[1] N. G. ii. 614, *note* 1. [2] See p. 61.

[3] Since writing this, I find that Vischer, in his *Kleine Schriften*, i. 61, takes the same view of the Athenian commander's plans.

[4] Thuc. iii. 97: τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει τοιόνδε τι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι παρῄνουν ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον· ἀναδιδάσκοντες αὐτόν, κ.τ.λ.

[5] *Ibid.* ὁ δὲ τούτοις τε πεισθεὶς . . . τοὺς Λοκροὺς οὐκ ἀναμείνας . . . ἐχώρει ἐπὶ Αἰγιτίου.

bold forward policy of the Messenians, which he had dropped on reaching Teichion. He would await his tardy Lokrian allies no longer, and no longer confine himself to the conquest of Apodotia. Accordingly he advanced upon Aigition.

If this be the true interpretation of the course of events, Aigition must cease to be reckoned a town of Apodotia. It belonged to the Ophioneis. And, if the Mórnos was the northern boundary of Apodotia, the ruins of Aigition must be sought beyond that river.



KASTRO OF VELUCHOVOS. PART OF SOUTHERN WALL.

CHAPTER XXII.

Eastern Aetolia.

OPHIONEIA.

If now, with the results of our analysis in our minds, we take our stand at Lykochóri and try to discover a likely site for Aigition we shall not have long to search. On every side save one the view is restricted. Eastwards, our gaze travels up the long valley of the Mórnos, until arrested by the snowy sentinels of Vardhúsi and Kióna. Nine or ten miles away, just at the point at which the Mórnos issues from between the two mountains, a conical peak, one of the foot-hills of Vardhúsi, rises from the right bank of the river. That marks the site of Aigition.

In the upper part of its course the river Mórnos is usually called the Méga. Half an hour below the town of Lidhoríki[1] it is joined by two torrents. The one flows from Malandhríno in the south-east, being increased before it reaches the Méga by a smaller stream passing through Lidhoríki itself. On the right bank of the Méga, a short distance above the point at which it receives the Lidhoríki torrents, we find a second tributary,—the Velúchi, which flows nearly due south from the base of Mount Vardhúsi. The Velúchi is scarcely a mile in length, issuing with a great noise from what is probably the emissory of a katavóthra: after rain it becomes so copious that it often floods the valley. On its left bank stands the village of Velúchovos[2]. The Méga, after receiving the contributions of these two streams, flows

[1] Λοιδωρίκιον, Λιδωρίκι. Μαλανδρῖνον.

[2] Βελοῦχι. Βελούχοβος. Leake, N. G. ii. 601, *note* 1, explains them as 'names of Bulgaric origin, derived from a word meaning *white*.' He gives the name Ξουριὰς τὸ κάστρον to the ruins.

through the Stenó, a short rocky gorge between Mount Vardhúsi and the end of the lofty ridge that runs along the western side of the Lidhoríki valley. At this point the river is crossed by a narrow bridge of a single arch springing from the cliffs. Immediately below the Stenó, the Méga is joined by the red waters of the Kókkinos from the north-west, draining the valley between Vardhúsi and the Vlachovúnia mountains. Henceforth the Méga changes its name for that of Mórnos, or Mornopótamos. Thus the spur of Vardhúsi is defended on three sides by water,—on the east by the Méga and the Velúchi; on the west by the Kókkinos; on the south by the Méga in its passage through the Stenó. On the north are the steep rocky slopes of Mount Vardhúsi.

It is on this strong point that we find the Palaiókastron of Velúchovos[1]. The wall can be followed throughout its extent; in some places it still stands to a considerable height. It embraces in a circuit of a mile the entire eastern side of the hill, i. e. the side facing the Méga and the Velúchi. The line runs obliquely down this slope almost as far as the junction of the Velúchi with the main river; then it turns, and runs parallel with the Méga as far as the Stenó, where it turns again and strikes upwards to the summit of the hill.

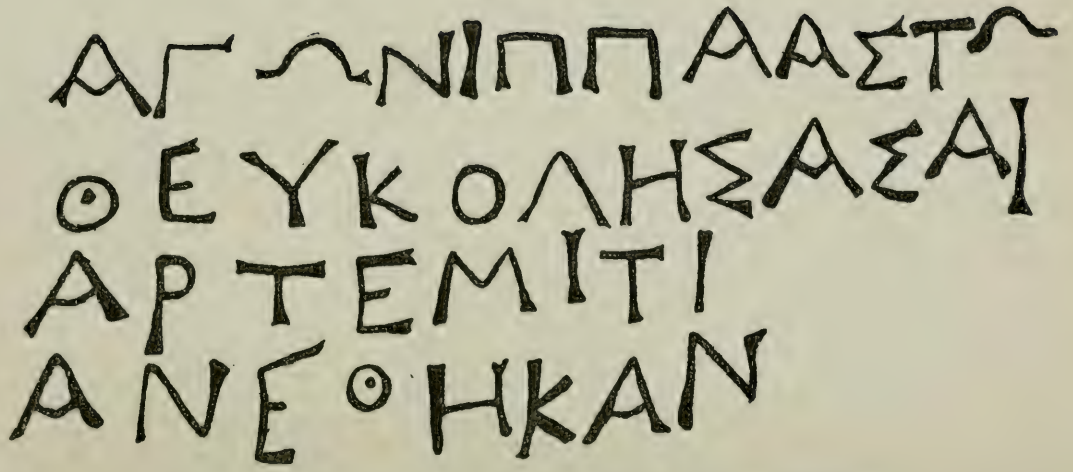
The summit itself is occupied by the ruins of a mediaeval castle resting upon the foundations of the Hellenic akropolis. The western slope of the hill is extremely steep,—almost precipitous,—but on a slight projection on this side, just below the summit, there seem to be traces of a public building. The whole of the upper part of the hill, however, is rendered so difficult by rocks and brushwood that an accurate examination is almost impossible. The wall has both square and semicircular towers. The style of its masonry,—'irregular Hellenic,'—varies in quality from moderate to the finest specimens of its kind[2]. In fine, the fortress of Velúchovos is the strongest in Aetolia[3]. We must go to Vlochós or to

[1] Leake, N. G. ii. 600, gives a sketch-plan and description of the site.

[2] In parts the style is almost 'polygonal,' or that 'transitional' species found in North Aetolia. Cf. Baz. *Mém.* p. 308.

[3] This must, of course, be understood strictly with reference to the conditions of ancient warfare. The site, like that of New Pleuron, deserves a monograph, if not excavation.

To face p. 365.



24. INSCRIBED BLOCK (NO. 2) NEAR THE STENÓ, VELÚCHOVOS.

the kástro of Tatárna to find its equal; but neither of those positions matches this in point of strategic value.

The site is comparatively rich in inscriptions.

(1) On a limestone slab, about 2′ high, finished at the top with a moulding. The stone is perfect, but much rubbed on the upper part. The lettering of lines 4–6 is smaller than that of the lines above them, and the last line is in a still smaller character. The stone is preserved in the khan at the Stenó.

ΟΝΙΚΑΣ	*-ονικας*
ΝΑ	*-να-*
ΚΑΛΟΝΙΚΑΣ	*Καλονίκας*
ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΣ	*Δαμοκρατείας*
5 ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΕΟΣ	*Πατροκλέος*
ΝΙΚΙΑΔΑΣ	*Νικιάδας*
ΑΡΙΣΤΙ∩Ν	*Ἀριστίων*

(2) Just above, i. e. east of, the pass, a modern terrace-wall in the wheat-field contains a large ancient block, in which is cut the following inscription, in large irregular characters. The stone is perfect. Letters three inches high.

Ἀγώνιππα Ἀστὼ
θευκολησᾶσαι
Ἀρτέμιτι
ἀνέθηκαν[1].

(3) About a mile from the Stenó, in the field in which stands the ruined church of Hághios Vasíleios, on the left bank of the Mórnos, is found a block measuring $2\frac{1}{2}'$ by 2′. The soil must be removed before the inscription[2] can be seen. It is

[1] Θευκόλησᾶσαι is Doric for *θεοκολησᾶσαι*. The word occurs also in the Emancipation Deed from the temple of Phistyon (see p. 200). For a similar inscription, see C. I. G. 1934 = Chandler, *Inscr. Antiq.* ii. p. 86, No. 159, where we have: *θυγατέρα θεοκολήσασαν* Ἀρτέμιτι.

[2] Cf. Fick (*Sammlung-Collitz*), No. 1428[b], who remarks: 'Μολύσχριος= Μολύκριος, Ew. der Stadt Molykreion, vielleicht in einer epichorischen Form: Μολύκχριος.' Following Bazin's incorrect copy (*Mém.* App. No. 2), he gives the two forms A A as appearing on the stone.

In addition to these, I heard of at least three more inscriptions on the site; but not until I had left the place. I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the information. I may also mention the ruined Byzantine church called Haghía Moní, on a little hill above the right bank of the

beautifully cut, with letters about two inches high. The third word is in a smaller character. The stone is perfect.

Δικαιόπολις
Νικάτας
Μολύσχριος.

Bazin suggests that we should rather see Aigition in the ruins near Strútza[1]. This village is two and a half hours south-west of Lidhoríki, just over the crest of the mountains which we have mentioned as forming the western boundary of the Lidhoríki valley. As we cross the ridge we catch a glimpse of the Corinthian Gulf to the left. A deep depression separates the village from three rocky heights lying to the west. On the lowest of these we find the scanty ruins of a fortified enclosure; the two slightly more lofty eminences, which bear north and north-east from the kástro, seem also to contain remains. Along the western side of the kástro hill there is a deep ravine, and beyond it a long ridge sparsely covered with trees and furrowed with révmata. In the far distance, overtopping the complex of the Lokrian mountains, we see the summits of the north Peloponnesian range. The site is under cultivation, and tile-fragments litter the ground, but the walls have almost entirely vanished. A short length, two courses high, on the west of the hill shows that the style of masonry was a rude 'irregular Hellenic.' The stones are not accurately fitted; they are massive blocks, piled so as to form a barrier characterized by its strength rather than by its artistic appearance. To a certain extent it resembles the masonry of Gyphtókastron, or that of the Hághios Elías near Stamná.

We have described this kástro with greater minuteness than it merits, in order to bring out every point that tells in favour of the theory which sees in these ruins those of Aigition. The two rocky eminences,—they are little more than knolls, or excrescences on the ridge,—to the north and

Mórnos, directly opposite Hághios Vasíleios. Many Hellenic blocks appear in its walls. Near the south side of the church there lies a large block with Byzantine inscription. Another is walled in the apse, but only half of it is preserved. It reads:—

-ης πρς (=πρέσβυς) ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἑαυτοῦ κα-
-υ αὐτοῦ ἐκαλιέργησεν. ✠

[1] *Mém.* p. 305. Στροῦτζα, Στροῦζα.

north-east of the site, are, according to Bazin, the heights that were occupied by the Aetolians[1]. The Athenians must have fled over the broken and difficult country to the south-west,—even to-day it is practically a desert. These characteristics, however, are not so definite as to preclude the possibility of Aigition being found elsewhere. Nor is the reported distance of Aigition from the sea conclusive evidence in favour of Strútza, as against Velúchovos. It would be contrary to the whole character of the knowledge of Aetolia displayed by Thucydides to affirm that his eighty stades must be taken *au pied de la lettre*. As the crow flies, the kástro of Strútza is certainly eighty stades, or fifteen kilomètres, distant from the sea, measuring from the site that we have called Antikyra; but the ruins at Velúchovos are only four or five kilomètres (three miles, or twenty-four stades) farther north. The question is complicated by the impossibility of determining the point from which Thucydides, or rather his informants, reckoned. If, as is most likely, a survivor of the expedition was his authority for the distance, it would be natural to take Oineon to have been the starting-point: we should also be justified in attaching very little value to the statement.

More important is it to remember in what direction Demosthenes had been advancing. When moving from Lykochóri (Teichion), with the object of making himself master of the Aetolian towns in succession, he could not have failed to strike next at the fortress at Velúchovos, as it is the only conspicuous site within view. The kástro of Strútza is quite concealed behind the north-eastern extension of Mount Tríkorpho. If we assume Strútza to represent Aigition, we must necessarily suppose the invaders to have crossed the heights to the north of the site in their advance against it along the northern slopes of Mount Tríkorpho; consequently, the Aetolians, after evacuating the place, could not have fallen back upon those heights as Bazin imagines. On the other hand, if we take the kástro of Velúchovos to have been the Athenian objective, its occupants would quite naturally withdraw to the flanks of Mount Vardhúsi lying

[1] *Mém.* p. 305: 'Les deux éminences rocheuses qui dominent la ville au nord et au nord-est ont pu être occupées par les Étoliens pour inquiéter de loin Démosthène. Les Athéniens devaient s'enfuir au sud-ouest.'

above the town[1]; once there, it would be impossible to dislodge them, and equally impossible for their assailants to retire across the river without incurring heavy loss.

The fact that Thucydides never alludes to the passage of the Mórnos causes us no difficulty. Similarly, he does not mention the river in describing the advance of Eurylochos on Naupaktos: he was, in fact, probably unaware of its existence. Such omissions cannot be relied upon as arguments. In their retirement from the hornets' nest in which they found themselves, the Athenians would slowly retreat along the vale of the Mórnos, their ranks sadly thinned by the deadly Aetolian javelin. The retreat became a rout, and the remnant of the shattered column seems to have made a desperate dash up the heights of Tríkorpho, behind which lay the blue sea and safety. On this unfamiliar ground the fugitives were at a loss after their Messenian guide fell, so that few escaped from the wilderness of scrub and ravine[2].

It seems clear that, until he reached Aigition, Demosthenes had encountered no resistance; perhaps he had never seen the enemy at all. From the moment that the invaders crossed the frontier, the Aetolian levies were concentrating in the most favourable position that they could select. This we are told distinctly:—'The Aetolians were aware of his designs from the very first, and no sooner had he entered their territory than they all collected in great force[3].' It is to this relief force that the words 'for they had by this

[1] Thuc. iii. 97: *ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως.* We may here point out how much more suitable the name Aigition is to the features of Velúchovos than to those about Strútza, if Palmer (*Descr.* p. 465) is right in the derivation he suggests:—'in loco aspero, quod etiam nomen significat, scilicet, capris idoneum locum, quae per abrupta montium pascere gaudent.'

[2] Often have I realized some part of the heat and burden of that fatal day, both here and in other parts of Aetolia, when hopelessly entangled in a labyrinth of *culs-de-sac.* The wonderful precision with which the agoghiat possessing local knowledge selects the proper path is only equalled by the ease with which he loses it when working in an unfamiliar region. Chromon was, perhaps, a shepherd picked up at Eupalion.

[3] Thuc. iii. 96: *τοὺς δ' Αἰτωλοὺς οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν αὕτη ἡ παρασκευὴ οὔτε ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεβουλεύετο, ἐπειδή τε ὁ στρατὸς ἐσεβεβλήκει, πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐπεβοήθουν πάντες.*

time come to the relief of Aigition[1]' must refer. This suits admirably the strong position we have chosen for Aigition; it was, in fact, this consideration that, on the ground itself, first suggested to me the identification[2]. Only the most positive counter-evidence could avail against a conclusion so perfectly in harmony with the geographical and military conditions. Velúchovos is the only first-class fortress in Ophioneia, whereas there is nothing in the kástro of Strútza to give it any claim to be the centre of the national resistance; strategically it is valueless. The Aetolian contingents could concentrate only upon the fortress at the Stenó. From the valley of the Mórnos came the Apodotoi and the Ophioneis; that of the Kókkinos sent forth the Bomieis and the Eurytanes who dwelt beyond them; lastly, the valley of the Méga runs up into the country of the Kallieis. All three valleys radiate from Velúchovos. With a sure military instinct the Aetolians estimated and availed themselves of the strategic advantages of their land.

Leake[3] takes this kástro of Velúchovos to have been a frontier town of Lokris, and calls it Hyle. He gets the name Hyle from Stephanus[4], and then substitutes Ὑλαῖοι for the Ὑαῖοι or Ὑιαῖοι of Thucydides[5]. He gives three reasons for his opinion that Velúchovos was Hyle:—

(1) Hyle is an appropriate name for the country round Velúchovos.

(2) The resistance of Hyle to the demands of Eurylochos, and the necessity he was under of obtaining hostages from the town by force of arms, are proofs of its importance, and of its proximity to Amphissa[6].

[1] Thuc. iii. 97: *βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἤδη ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰγίτιον.*

[2] But it was apparently first put forward by Becker,—*Diss.* iii. 13: 'minus dubitabis, quin illic Aegitium olim positum fuerit.'

[3] N. G. ii. 619.

[4] Steph. Byz. *Ὕλη . . . ἔστι καὶ πόλις Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν, ἧς τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὑλαῖος.*

[5] Steph. Byz. *Ὑαία, πόλις Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὑαῖος. Θουκυδίδης τρίτῃ.* Bursian (*Geogr.* i. 152, *note* 4) writes: 'Die Stadt Ὑαία ist eine Fiction des St. selbst oder seines Epitomators.'

'There cannot be a question' is all that Leake deigns to say in justification of the change he suggests (see N. G. ii. 615, *note* 2).

[6] Thuc. iii. 101: *καὶ Ὑαῖοι οὐκ ἔδοσαν ὁμήρους πρὶν αὐτῶν εἷλον κώμην Πόλιν ὄνομα ἔχουσαν.*

(3) The Mórnos is the only stream of any size between the Euenos (Phídharis) and the Krissaian gulf, so that it alone can correspond to the Hylaithos, or Hylaitos, of Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon.

It is only the last assertion that is worth notice. We must agree with Bursian[1], that the Mórnos cannot be the river mentioned by Dionysios[2], for between it and Naupaktos he speaks of a 'great harbour, and the city of Tolophon.' Nor are the words 'they say that it flows from Aetolia' naturally used of a river like the Mórnos, which not only flows from, but for nine-tenths of its course flows through, Aetolia. Whether the Hylaithos of Dionysios must be identified with the Κατσικοπνίκτης (Goat-Choker) which traverses the plain of Amphissa is a question not to be discussed here; it is at any rate certain that it cannot be the Mórnos. The ancient name of the Mórnos is perhaps preserved incidentally by Plutarch, when he says that the corpse of Hesiod's servant Troilos was carried by the tide into the mouth of the Daphnos[3]. Hesiod and Troilos were murdered in the Lokrian Nemeion (i. e. at Eupalion), and, if our topography is correct, their bodies would be cast into the sea about Erythrai at the mouth of the river Mórnos. On this evidence we take our choice between calling the Mórnos the Daphnos or leaving it without a name. In either case Leake's ingenious argument for identifying the kástro of Velúchovos with Hyle falls to the ground[4].

[1] *Geogr.* i. 143, *note* 2.

[2] Dion. Kall. *Descr. Gr. l.* 64:—

> Εἶτα μετὰ ταύτην ἡ Λοκρὶς καλουμένη,
> ἐν ᾗ πόλις Ναύπακτος· εἶθ' ὑποκείμενος
> λιμὴν μέγας πόλις τε Τολοφών· μετὰ δὲ τὴν
> Τολοφῶνα ποταμός ἐσθ' Ὕλαιθος λεγόμενος·
> τοῦτον δὲ ῥεῖν λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰτωλίας.

[3] Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* xix.: τῶν δὲ σωμάτων εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὠσθέντων, τὸ μὲν τοῦ Τρωίλου εἰς τὸν Δάφνον ποταμὸν ἕξω φερόμενον, ἐπεσχέθη περικλύστῳ χοιράδι μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀνεχούσῃ. Cf. Thuc. iii. 96.

[4] Bazin, *Mém.* p. 305, accepts without argument the identification of the Mórnos as the ancient Hylaithos, but rejects that of Velúchovos as Hyle (*ibid.* p. 309). He says merely: 'Que sera donc le kastro de Véloukhovo? la troisième place des Bomiens' (!) We must apply this description rather to the kástro of Strútza, and call it an anonymous hill-fort of the Apodotoi.

Half-way up the valley between Mounts Kióna and Vardhúsi, on a precipitous terrace above the right bank of the Méga, are the scanty remains which are known as the Palaiókastron of Koniákos[1]. A wall existed only where the rocks failed to provide a natural defence, and two or three small fragments are all that survive. Like Velúchovos, this site also attracted settlers during the Middle Ages[2].

At the northern end of the valley of the Méga, half an hour north-west of the large village of Mavrolithári, is Kastriótissa[3]. The walls of its kástro, built in good 'irregular Hellenic,' and defended by square towers, can still be followed round three sides of the hill. This must be Kallion, or Kallipolis, the chief town of the Kallieis[4].

We reach the identification by comparing the account given by Pausanias[5] of the Gallic invasion with that given by Livy[6] of a Roman expedition against Naupaktos. In 191 B.C. M'. Acilius Glabrio, after defeating King Antiochos at Thermopylai, ascended from Herakleia to Pyra, the peak on Mount Oita which was regarded as the scene of the death of Herakles. There he offered sacrifice, and then advanced to Korax, which is described as 'a very high mountain between Kallipolis and Naupaktos[7].' In crossing it many of the baggage animals with their loads were dashed down the precipices, and the column suffered great hardships. The Aetolians displayed astonishing negligence in having failed to despatch a force to hold the pass. In spite of his losses, Glabrio came down safely to Naupaktos[8].

[1] Τὸ παλαιόκαστρον τοῦ Κονιάκου.

[2] Bazin (*Mém.* p. 312) found at Λευκαδίτη to the south-east of Koniákos, on the left bank of the Méga, near a ruined church of the Virgin, a stele with the inscription ΤΙΜΟΛΑ, 'sur une bande en saillie . . . Les caractères semblent de l'époque romaine.'

[3] Μαυρολιθάριον. Καστριώτισσα.

[4] Strategos from Kallion, Boeckh, C. I. G. 1702. Agestos of Kallion is made Proxenos by Thaumakoi, *id.* 1771.

[5] Paus. x. 22. See p. 67. [6] Livy, xxxvi. 30.

[7] *Ibid.* Inde toto exercitu profectus reliquum iter satis expedito agmine fecit. Ut ad Coracem est ventum (mons est altissimus inter Callipolin et Naupactum) . . . Cf. Steph. Byz., Κόραξ ὄρος μεταξὺ Καλλιπόλεως καὶ Ναυπάκτου. Πολύβιος εἰκοστῷ.

[8] *Ibid.* Et facile apparebat, quam cum inerti hoste res esset, qui tam impeditum saltum nullo praesidio, ut clauderet transitum, insedisset. Tum quoque vexato exercitu ad Naupactum descendit.

The following year, the Aetolians were careful to block the route over Mount Korax, but the Romans no longer depended upon it; they used the much easier road which runs through the pass of Kytinion to Amphissa[1].

It is clear that Mount Korax must correspond to the parallel barriers of Vardhúsi and Kióna; but it is useless to attempt a more accurate definition of the limits within which the name was applied. So far as they go, the three meagre notices in Strabo are quite satisfactory. Korax, with Parnassos, stands at the southern end of Pindos[2]; it is west of Parnassos[3]; it is connected with the Oita range[4]. These characteristics are combined only in Vardhúsi and Kióna.

It is easy to see why the Romans did not take the comparatively easy road down the valley of the Méga. They were compelled to cross the mountain itself, owing to the danger that would have been incurred in descending a valley defended by the three fortresses of Kastriótissa, Koniákos, and Velúchovos. It is also obvious that the mountain which they crossed must have been Vardhúsi, the western range, for there was no need to go so far south as to strike Kióna, nor would anything have been gained by crossing that ridge.

At what point then did Glabrio cross Vardhúsi? There are, in fact, two possible routes over the mountain. The most northerly path starts from Musunítsa[5], south-west of Kastriótissa; passing between the highest summit of Vardhúsi and a slightly lower peak, it descends to the head waters of the Kókkinos, to Kostártsa or Granítsa[6]. The second pass is a much easier one, crossing the ridge at a moderate elevation not far north of Velúchovos; it runs from Trivídhi westwards to Klíma[7]. The Romans must

[1] Livy, xxxvii. 4. See p. 59.

[2] Str. p. 329, *fr.* 6: Ἡ δ' Ὀρεστὶς πολλὴ καὶ ὄρος ἔχει μέγα μέχρι τοῦ Κόρακος τῆς Αἰτωλίας καθῆκον καὶ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ.

[3] *Id.* p. 417: τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ τὸ μὲν ἑσπέριον νέμονται Λοκροί τε οἱ Ὀζόλαι καί τινες τῶν Δωριέων καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ κατὰ τὸν Κόρακα προσαγορευόμενοι Αἰτωλικὸν ὄρος.

[4] *Id.* p. 450: Ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Αἰτωλία ὄρος μέγιστον μὲν τὸν Κόρακα, συνάπτοντα τῇ Οἴτῃ.

[5] Μουσουνίτσα.

[6] Κωστάρτσα. Γρανίτσα.

[7] Τριβίδιον. Κλῆμα.

have chosen the former route, for that alone presents the difficulties described by Livy and answers to Appian's statement that Glabrio crossed 'near Kallipolis[1].' Furthermore, if the southern pass had been chosen the army would have been compelled to traverse the Méga valley as far as Klíma, and then might as well have kept to it for the remainder of the distance.

Whichever route is followed, the track starts from the neighbourhood of the fortress of Kastriótissa, the only fortified place on the line of march taken by the Romans along the upper slopes of Mount Oita from Herakleia. Similarly, lying as it does on the watershed between the Vistritsa and the Méga, Kastriótissa also stands directly in the path of an enemy advancing into Aetolia by way of the former river, as did the detachment of the Galatai under Orestorios and Komboutis[2]. These indications seem sufficient to substantiate the identification of the ruins at Kastriótissa as those of Kallion (Kallipolis).

Both routes over Korax were defended. On the east, the fortress of Kastriótissa was the pivot upon which turned the defence of the two passes, as well as that of the Méga valley. At the western end of the northern route there was placed the fort of Dhréstena[3]. The kástro of Klíma in like manner guarded the southern road.

The latter kástro is one hour and a half to the north-west of the Stenó. The wall surrounded a steep pyramidal hill; but all that we can trace of it is a short length running along the western side, built in a very rude style. At the eastern foot of the hill, and facing the modern village, there is a small ruined church of Saint George, containing many well-wrought ancient blocks, and evidently standing on old foundations. From the akropolis we look down into the Kókkino valley, and, northwards, into that of the Granitsiotikós, which joins the 'Red river' above the kástro. The hill lies close up to Vardhúsi, at a good elevation above the valley.

Of the kástro near Dhréstena there is scarcely anything preserved except the tiles covering the site; there are also Hellenic tombs on a neighbouring eminence. Its hill is

[1] App. *Syr.* 21: *ἐπὶ Καλλιπόλεως διώδευε τὸ ὄρος, ὃ καλοῦσι Κόρακα, ὑψηλότατόν τε ὀρῶν καὶ δυσόδευτον καὶ ἀπόκρημνον.*

[2] Cf. Leake, N. G. ii. 624. See p. 67.

[3] *Δρέστενα.*

defended on two sides by tributaries of the Kókkinos. It lies on the western side of the valley, north-west from the kástro of Klíma.

The remaining sites of Ophioneia will not detain us long; they are few in number, and, with one exception, without special features of interest.

Bazin [1] takes Leake to task for suggesting the existence of a town Bomoi 'near the sources of the Evenus.' Leake perhaps made the mistake of thinking that we find in Strabo actual evidence of the town's existence; nevertheless, the analogy of Kallion among the Kallieis may be cited in support of his suggestion. Its site would be found near Artotína [2], where ancient remains are discovered, though I did not hear of a kástro. Still, the masonry of the Ophioneian fortresses is of so poor a character that the untrained eyes of the peasants may have failed to recognize its traces.

In the valley of the Phídharis, near the village of Klepá [3], on the right bank of the river, there are vestiges of an Hellenic site. A kástro is also found on a rocky spur on the left bank of the Phídharis, just at the point at which it receives the torrent Kákavos. This fortress takes its name from the village of Artotíva [4], which lies on the mountain side to the north of the site. Just above the ruin the Phídharis is spanned by an ancient bridge, and from it we follow a narrow densely wooded gorge for one hour to the west, until we emerge into the plain of Chrysovítsa [5]. If we descend the course of the Phídharis southwards for five or six kilomètres we reach the tributary called the Steliórema [6] flowing from the east down the valley between the villages of Stília and Símu [7]. On the right bank of the Stília river, a short distance above its confluence with the Phídharis, stands the mill of Nikólaos Makrijánnis, at which we find a limestone stele beautifully inscribed with

[1] *Mém.* p. 309. Leake, N. G. ii. 623; where he quotes Strabo, p. 451, and Steph. Byz.

[2] Ἀρτοτίνα, capital of the modern Deme Βωμαῖα.

[3] Κλεπᾶ. Cf. Baz. *Mém.* p. 307.

[4] Ἀρτοτίβα. Cf. Baz. *l. c.*

[5] See p. 247.

[6] Στηλιόρρευμα.

[7] Στήλια. Σίμου. The latter name is practically a monosyllable.

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΓΟΛΙΣ

ΝΙΚΑΤΑΣ

ΜΟΛΥΣΧΡΙΟΣ

25.

ΚΡΙΝΟΛΑΟΥ

26.



27.

25. INSCRIBED BLOCK (NO. 3) NEAR THE STENÓ, VELÚCHOVOS. See p. 366.

26. INSCRIPTION FROM A STELE NEAR THE PHÍDHARIS.

27. INSCRIBED STELE FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF LOBOTINÁ.

To face p. 375.

the single word Κρινολάου[1]. In the fields to the east of the mill there are to be seen several stones cut for the reception of similar stelai, and also one or two pieces of plain columns.

Of somewhat greater importance are the sites near Great Lobotiná[2] and Palaiokátunon.

The former town marks almost the central point of Krávari. It stands in a circus of mountains in a fine situation on well-wooded slopes; below it, in the valley, is the village of Little Lobotiná. One hour and a half to the north of the principal village, high on the sides of Mount Trékuri which rises above the sources of the Kákavos, is the deserted monastery of Hághios Dhimítrios. Above the monastery a fragment of wall betrays the fact that a fortified town formerly existed here. Bazin[3], in whose time the monastery was still occupied, reports that the monks occasionally found coins and rude pottery in the neighbourhood. Within the courtyard, on a curiously-shaped stele, is the following inscription, in rude deeply-cut letters:—

Νικάνορ
Γαλατείας
Πολε-
μαίου.

In the village of Lobotiná itself I heard of at least one other inscription; but its place was not revealed, owing to the fact that the word Βασίλεια was read on one of the stones, —proof positive to the discoverers that they had lighted upon the buried hoard of a forgotten 'kingdom.' The secret of the locality was accordingly valued at a fabulous price. I learnt only enough to show that the stone in question is a stele of the ordinary Aetolian form.

Palaiokátunon is four or five hours north-west of Velúchovos, and two hours due south of Pendaghïï[4]: it lies on the eastern face of a prolongation of the Vlachovúnia range

[1] South-west of the village of Stília itself, on the top of the hill, there seems to be an ancient cemetery.

[2] Μεγάλα Λομποτινά, and Μικρὰ Λ.

[3] *Mém.* p. 306.

[4] Πενταγιοΐ, about five hours from Lidhoríki. Pop. about 800. It shares with Palaiokátunon the honour of being capital of the Deme Κροκυλίου (!). Lying on the eastern face of the Vlachovúno, it enjoys a fine view of Vardhúsi.

towards the Mórnos. On the crest of the ridge, near the track leading westwards to Kupáki and Zoriánu[1], we find the site of a temple in a grove of *purnária*. The view from it embraces to the south the valley of the Mórnos, the line of Trikorpho, and that of Mount Voïdhiá in the Peloponnese. Owing partly to the disturbance of the remains by the roots of the trees, but much more to the havoc wrought by treasure-seekers, it is now quite impossible to make out the plan of the temple, or to take its dimensions. All that we see is a heap of finely dressed blocks of grey stone, one of which has a plain oval buckler carved upon it in relief. Thirty years ago other blocks were in existence with similar reliefs[2], but these seem to have been destroyed; or they may be buried. Fragments of a wall on the heights north of the village show that a polis existed here, and the site seems to have been inhabited during the post-Hellenic period. I did not hear of any inscriptions, but the Kravarites of this region do not look upon a traveller with very friendly eyes.

It is possible that some may feel inclined to identify Palaiokátunon as the ancient Aigition; and it must be confessed that its distance from the sea agrees more closely with the testimony of Thucydides than does that of Velúchovos. We must hope that epigraphic evidence will turn up at one or other place to settle the question. Velúchovos and Palaiokátunon are, indeed, the only promising sites to be found within the limits of the land of the Ophioneis.

[1] Κουπᾶκι. Ζωριάνου.

[2] Bazin, *Mém.* p. 306: 'des détails de sculpture sur des blocs dispersés, un poisson, une sorte de bouclier, des ornements grossiers, mais rares en Étolie.'

APPENDIX I.

I SUBJOIN a list of the names of those Aetolian towns and mountains which cannot, as yet, be identified with certainty.

Agremones. Hesych. *Ἀγρεμόνες· θηρευταί, πορθητικοί. Βοιωτοί. ἢ θηρευτικοί. καὶ τόπος ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ.* [=Agraioi?]

Aigai. Steph. Byz. *sub voc.* [=Aigition?]

Akropolis. Steph. Byz. *ἔστι δὲ καὶ Αἰτωλίας.* [=Akrai?]

Lykope. Schol. *in* Theokr. vii. 72: *Λυκωπίτας: Ἥγουν Αἰτωλίας. Λυκωπίτας γὰρ ὁ ἀπὸ Λυκώπης· ἡ δὲ Λυκώπη πόλις Αἰτωλίας. ἢ ἀπὸ δήμου· Λύκωπος γὰρ δῆμος ἀποίκων (sc. Αἰτωλῶν, Geelius).*

Ortygia. Schol. *in* Apoll. Rhod. i. 419: *περὶ τῆς Ὀρτυγίας Φανόδικος ἐν τοῖς Δηλιακοῖς ἱστόρηκεν. Καὶ Νίκανδρος ἐν τῷ γ′ τῶν Αἰτωλικῶν [ἀπὸ] τῆς ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ Ὀρτυγίας φησὶ τὴν Δῆλον ὀνομασθῆναι, γράφων τάδε, "οἱ δ' ἐξ Ὀρτυγίης Τιτηνίδος ὁρμηθέντες, οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἔφεσον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πρότερον Δῆλον καλουμένην, ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν ὁμοτέρμονα Σικελίης νῆσον, ὅθεν Ὀρτυγίαι πᾶσαι βοῶνται*." Καὶ ἡ Δῆλος οὖν οὐχ, ὡς μεμύθευται, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀστερίας μεταμορφώσεως, τῆς Λητοῖς ἀδελφῆς, ἀλλὰ καθὸ πᾶσαι Ὀρτυγίαι ἀποικίαι εἰσὶ τῆς κατ Αἰτωλίαν Ὀρτυγίας.*

[Cf. Becker, *Diss.* iii. p. 24; and Bursian, *Geogr.* i. 134: 'Den alten Cult der Artemis . . . bezeugt der Name Ὀρτυγία, welches als ein am Berge Chalkis gelegener Ort genannt wird und wohl von der Stadt Chalkis nicht zu trennen ist.']

Pherai. Steph. Byz. *sub voc.*

Thorax. Steph. Byz. *πόλις Αἰτωλίας.*

Thystion. Harpok. Θύστιον, Αἰσχίνης κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος. πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Αἰτωλίας, καθά φησι Δίδυμος ἐναγόμενος μαρτύριον ἐκ τῆς πρώτης Νικάνδρου τῶν Αἰτωλικῶν. [Perhaps the capital of the Thestieïs, i.e. Vlochós. Or is it a mistake for Φίστυον?]

Of mountains we have the following:—

Acanthon. Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 3: In Aetolia Acanthon Panaetolium Macynium. [Is Acanthon a corruption of Arakynthos?]

Alphion. Plut. *De Fluv.* viii. (Lykormas) § 3: παράκειται δ' αὐτῷ ὄρος Μύηνον καλούμενον. Previously it had borne the name Alphion. [This must be either Mount Varássova or Mount Rhígani.]

Gyron. Kalydon. *Id.* xxii. (Acheloos) § 4: παράκειται δ' αὐτῷ ὄρος Καλυδὼν καλούμενον. It was previously called Γυρόν. [This is Mount Arakynthos, i.e. the Zygós. Γυρόν should be Κούριον.]

Myenon. See under Alphion.

Oreia. Athen. vii. 297 a: Νίκανδρος ἐν πρώτῳ Αἰτωλικῶν τὴν μαντικὴν φησιν Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὸ Γλαύκου διδαχθῆναι· θηρῶντα δὲ περὶ τὴν Ὀρείην (ὄρος δὲ τοῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ὑψηλὸν ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ) λαγὼν θηρᾶσαι κ.τ.λ. [Is Oreia possibly Mount Viéna?]

Rhype. Nik. *Ther.* 215: Ῥυπαῖον, Κόρακός τε πάγον, πολιόν τ' Ἀσέληνον. The Schol. says: Ῥυπαῖον δ' Ἀντίγονος μὲν τῆς Ἀχαΐδος φησὶν εἶναι, ἐπεὶ Ῥυπαῖοι οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν. Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Αἰτωλίας, ὡς Νίκανδρος περί τινων εἰς Αἰτωλίαν ἐρχομένων διηγούμενος·

δι' αἰπεινήν τε κολώνην
Οἰωνοῦ Ῥυπῆς τε πάγον καὶ Ὀνθίδα λίμνην
στείχοντες Ναύπακτον ἐς Ἀμφιδύμην τε πέλαζον.

Τὸ δ' Ἀσέληνον Λοκρικὸν ὄρος ἐστὶ δυσχείμερον.

Marlaos. Meletios, *Geogr.* ii. 306: ἐν δὲ τῷ Μεσογείῳ ὁ Μάρλαος, ἢ καὶ Μαλαός. [=Mount Anninos, above Kóniska in Krávari.]

APPENDIX II.

Modern Marching.

The following extract from the English Newspapers of September, 1895, is a good commentary upon the argument of p. 275. The article is headed: 'Can British soldiers march?'

'One of the best marches of recent times was accomplished on Wednesday (Sept. 18th) by a party of the 1st Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, stationed at Aldershot. Six men, selected at random, under Captain Thurbron and Lieutenant Glaisford, started on a self-imposed task at twenty minutes to five on Wednesday morning to march from North Camp to Hyde Park-corner, a distance of thirty-four miles. Officers and men alike carried valise and full kit, and Hyde Park-corner was reached at five o'clock. The appended table, the publication of which has been made this morning after verification from the points on the route, will show the march to be an extraordinary one, and the fine reception accorded to the party by the Coldstream Guards at Wellington Barracks on arrival was a worthy tribute to the marching powers of a battalion which acquitted itself second to none on the manœuvres:—

Left Aldershot 4.40 a.m.	18 miles.
Arrived Staines 9.15	4 h. 35 min.
Left Staines 11.0	10 miles.
Arrived Brentford 1.25 p.m. . . .	2 h. 25 min.
Left Brentford 3.0	6 miles.
Arrived Hyde Park Corner 5.0. .	2 hours.
Total distance	34 miles.
Time on the march	9 hours.
Halts	3 h. 20 min.
Total time outward	12 h. 20 min.
Rate of marching	15·88 min. for 1 mile.

The men returned to Aldershot by train, every man being comparatively fresh and none the worse for demonstrating the fact that, once men are fit, they can cover big distances in rapid time. The experience of the men is favourable to the airy feather bonnet and kilt for marching, although the equipment and tightly-buttoned garments are not an assistance.'

APPENDIX III.

The Skála Inscriptions.

1.—ΑΓΑΘΑΙΤΥΧΑΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ
ΘΕΑΡΟΙΣΦΙΛΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΣΩΣΙΑΕΝ
ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΟΙΜΗΝΟΣΕΥΘΥΑΙΟΥΑΠΕ
ΔΟΤΟΣΑΤΥΡΟΣΜΕΝΥΟΣΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΟΣ
ΤΟΙΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΟΙΤΟΙΕΝΚΡΟΥΝΟΙΣΠΑΙ
ΔΑΡΙΟΝΟΙΟΝΟΜΑΣΩΣΑΣΚΑΙΚΟΡΑ
ΣΙΟΝΑΙΟΝΟΜΑΣΩΣΩΓΕΝΟΣΟΙ
ΚΟΓΕΝΗΤΙΜΑΣΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥΕΚΑΤΕ
ΡΑΜΜΕΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΙΠΑΡΑ
ΜΕΙΝΑΤΩΣΑΝΔΕΣΩΣΑ
ΚΑΙΣΩΣΩΠΑΡΑΣΑΤΥΡΟΝΚΑΙ
ΑΓΑΘΩΤΑΓΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΑΥΤΟΥΠΟ
ΕΟΝΤΕΣΤΟΕΠΙΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΝΕΙ
ΔΕΜΗΠΑΡΑΜΕΙΝΑΙΣΑΝΑΤΕΩΝΑ
ΑΤΕΛΗΣΕΣΤΩΚΑΙΟΠΡΟΑΠΟΔΟΤΑΣ
ΜΗΒΕΒΑΙΟΥΤΩΠΡΟΑΠΟΔΟΤΑΣΕΠΙ
ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣΚΑΤΑΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝΛΑΜΙΟΣ
ΛΕΟΝΤΟΜΕΝΕΟΣΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΣ
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΙΔΑΦΝΩΝΣΩΣΙΑΣ
ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥΣΩΣΙΒΙΟΣΕΥΒΟΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΠ
ΠΟΣΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΟΙΛΑΜΙΟΣΝΕΑΙΟΣ
ΑΜΥΝΑΝΔΡΟΣΑΜΕΙΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΔΑΜΕΑΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣΠΕΥΡΩΝΑΛΕ
ΞΙΔΑΜΟΣΟΑΡΧΩΝΤΑΝΩΝΑΝΦΥ
ΛΑΣΣΟΝΤΙΑΛΕΞΙΔΑΜΟΣΟΑΡΧΩΝ
ΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΣΚΑΙΣΩΣΙΑΣΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ
ΝΑΥΠΑ ΚΤΙΟΣ ΧΚΑ

Ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι γραμματεύοντος
θεαροῖς Φίλωνος τοῦ Σωσία ἐν
Ναυπάκτοι, μηνὸς Εὐθυαίου ἀπέ-
δοτο Σάτυρος Μενύος Ναυπάκτιος
τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι τῶι ἐν Κρουνοῖς παι-

δάριον δι ὄνομα Σωσᾶς καὶ κορά-
σιον ᾶι ὄνομα Σωσώ, γένος οι-
κογενῆ, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου ἑκάτε-
ρα ⟦Μ⟧Μ, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι, παρα-
μεινάτωσαν δὲ Σωσᾶς
καὶ Σωσὼ παρὰ Σάτυρον καὶ
Ἀγαθὼ τὰγ γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ποε-
όντες τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον· εἰ
δὲ μὴ παραμείναισαν ἃ τε ὠνὰ
ἀτελὴς ἔστω καὶ ὁ προαποδότας
μὴ βεβαιούτω. Προαποδότας ἐπὶ
τούτοις κατὰ τὸν νόμον Λάμιος
Λεοντομένεος Βούττιος.
Μάρτυροι Δάφνων, Σωσίας
Τηλέφου, Σωσίβιος Εὐβούς, Κάλλιπ-
πος Ναυπάκτιοι· Λάμιος, Νεαῖος,
Ἀμύνανδρος, Ἀμεινοκράτης,
Δαμέας, Ἀντίοχος, Πευρών, Ἀλε-
ξίδαμος ὁ ἄρχων. Τὰν ὠνὰν φυ-
λάσσοντι Ἀλεξίδαμος ὁ ἄρχων
Βούττιος, καὶ Σωσίας Τηλέφου
Ναυπάκτιος.

2.—ΣΤΡΑΤΑΓΕΟΝΤΟΣΛΑΔΙΚΟΥΑΡΣΙΝΟΕΟΣ
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΔΕΕΝΒΟΥΤΤΟΙ
ΛΟΥΜΗΝΟΣΠΡΟΚΥΚΛΙΟΥΑΠΕΔΟΝΤΟ
ΔΑΣΣΛΣΙΧΑΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΙΤΩΙΑΣΚΑΠΙ
ΛΙΤΛΙΕΝΚΡΟΥΝΟΙΣΠΑΙΔΑΡΙΟΝΟΙΟΝΟΜΑ
ΛΑΟΣΕΠΕΛ ΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΙΤΟΓΕΝΟΣΟΙ
ΚΟΓΕΝΗΤΕΙΜΑΣΑ ΡΓΥΡΙΟΥΜΜΒΕΒΑΙ
ΩΤΗΡΚΑΤΑΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝΛΑΜΙΟΣΛΕΟΝΤΟ
ΜΕΝΕΟΣΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΣΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΙΑΛΕΞΙΑΔΑΣ
ΜΙΚΚΑΔΑΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣΜΕΝΛΝ
ΝΦΙΛΩΝΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣΛΕΩΝΑΡΚΙΣΛΝ
ΑΔΑΣΔΑΜΟΞΕΝΟΣΤΙΜΑΙΟΣΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΙ
ΙΣΟΣΣΠΑΤΡΛΣΚΥΔΡΙΩΝΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΟ
ΩΝΑΝΦΥΛΑΣΣΟΝΤΙΟΙΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ
ΛΟΣΑΜΥΝΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΡΑΣΩΝΑΜΕΙ
ΚΡΑΤΗΣΔΑΜΟΞΕΝΟΣΒΟΥΤΤΙΟΙ

Στραταγέοντος Λαδίκου Ἀρσινοέος
τὸ] δεύτερον, ἄρχοντος δὲ ἐν Βουττῶι
. . . λου, μηνὸς Προκυκλίου ἀπέδοντο
. . . δας Σωσίχα Βούττιοι τῶι Ἀσκ[λ]απι-
ῶι τῶι ἐν Κρουνοῖς παιδάριον δι ὄνομα
. . . λαος, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι, τὸ γένος οι-
κογενῆ, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου ΜΜΜ. Βεβαι-

ωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον Λάμιος Λεοντομένεος Βούττιος. Μάρτυροι Ἀλεξιάδας, Μικκάδας, Ἀριστόμαχος, Μένων, . . ν, Φίλων, Τιμόλαος, Λέων, Ἀρκίσων, . . αδας, Δαμόξενος, Τίμαιος Βούττιοι· . . ισος, Σπάτρως, Κυδρίων Ναυπάκτιοι. τὰν] ὠνὰν φυλάσσοντι οἱ ἄρχοντες . . . λος, Ἀμύνανδρος, Θράσων, Ἀμει[νοκράτης, Δαμόξενος Βούττιοι.

From comparison with No. 4 it is probable that in the above inscription we should restore the name of the Archon as Eumelos.

3.—Στραταγέοντος τῶν Αἰτωλῶν Τριχᾶ Στρατίου β′ ἐν δὲ Βουττοῖ ἄρχοντος Λαμίου τοῦ Ἀλεξομένου, μηνὸς Εὐθυαίου ἀπέδοτο Μικκίων Βούττιος τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι τῶι ἐν Κρουνοῖς σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον ὃι ὄνομα Φιλόξενος, τὸ γένος Ἀμφίλοχον, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου ΠΜΜΜ. Βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον Λάμιος Λεοντομένεος Βούττιος. Παραμενέτω δὲ Φιλόξε[νος παρὰ Μικκίωνα ἃς κα ζῇ Μικκίων ποιῶν τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον· εἰ δὲ μὴ ποέοι, ἀτελὴς ἁ ὠνὰ ἔστω· εἰ δέ τί κα πάθῃ Μικκίων τόκα ἁ ὠνὰ κυρία ἔστω καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ βεβαιούτω τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι. Μάρτυροι Μένων, Φίλων, Νεαῖος, . . . ος, Σκορπίων, Εὐριπίδας Βούττιοι· Σάτυρος, Ἀντικράτης, Πολύξενος, Πολύαρχος Ναυπάκτιοι. Τὰν ὠνὰν φυλάσσοντι Λάμιος ὁ ἄρχων, Δαμόξενος Βούττιοι.

4.—Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐμήλου ἐν Βο[υττοῖ, μη]νὸς Ἱπποδρομίου ἀπέδοτο [Νικόστ]ρατος Βούττιος τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι τῶι [ἐν Κρο]υνοῖς σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον ὃι ὄνο[μα Σω . . . τὸ γένος] οἰκογενῆ, τειμᾶς ἀργυρίου [Μ] Βεβαιω]τὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον Δαμόξ[ενος Βούττιος· παραμενέτω [δὲ Σω . . . παρὰ Νικόστρατον ἃς κα ζῇ Νικόσ[τρατος ποέων τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον· εἰ [δέ τί κα πάθῃ Νικόστρατος τόκα ἁ ὠνὰ [κυρία ἔστω καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ βεβαιούτω. Εἰ δέ τι μὴ πειθαρχέοι Σω ἐπιτι]μέων Νικόστρα[τος τρόπωι ὃι κα θέλῃ κύριος ἔστω. Μάρτ[υροι Τίμαιος, Μικκάδας, Ἀρίστων,

Εὐριπίδας, Φίλων, Λυκίσκος,
Ἀλεξιάδας, Πετραῖος.
Τὰν ὠνὰν φυλάσσοντι οἱ ἄρχ[οντες
Εὔμηλος, Ἀμύνανδρος
Βούττιοι.

This inscription is a good instance of the way in which the cutter has been obliged to adapt his lines to the space at his command. The first seven lines are longer than those below them, which gradually contract in length towards the bottom. The letters missing on the right and left hand sides have been worn away by the action of water.

5.—Γραμματεύοντος θεαροῖς ἐν Ναυπάκτωι
Φίλωνος τοῦ Σωσία, μηνὸς Ἀγυείου Θράσων
Εὐξενίδα Βούττιος ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐλευθε-
ρίαι τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι τῶι ἐν Κρουνοῖς σῶμα ἀν-
δρεῖον ὧι ὄνομα Εὐβουλίδας, τὸ γένος Σύρον,
τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου MMMM. Προαποδόταs κατὰ τὸν
νόμον Λάμιος Εὐξενίδα Βούττιος. Μάρτυροι
Δαμόξενος, Φίλων, Ἀντίοχος, Σκορπίων,
Λεοντομένης, Καλλιάδας, Λάμιος Λεοντο-
μένεος, Κασόνικος, Λέων, Ζωπυρίων, Γάστ-
ρων, Λάμιος Εὐξενίδα Βούττιοι· Ἀμύνανδρος
Τεισάνδρου Ναυπάκτιος. Τὰν ὠνὰν φυλάσ-
σοντι οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Βουττίων Ἀγριά-
δας, Ἀλεξίδαμος.

6.—This inscription occurs on a large slab, perhaps a door-post, about 7′ long, lying under the mass of earth which has fallen upon the remains. It is apparently covered with inscriptions. I tried to excavate the stone by tunnelling, but my utmost endeavours enabled me to copy only the two uppermost records. They are in similar lettering to those given from the column. The slab is unbroken, but it is not always easy to make out the letters owing to the heavy deposit of lime that covers them.

Γραμματε]ύοντος θεαροῖς Φίλωνος τοῦ Σωσία
μηνὸς Διονυσίου ἀπέδοτο Νικιάδας Ν[ι]κο-
δέμου Πώριος κορύδιον ὃι ὄνομα Ἰστιάης τῶι
Ἀσκλαπιῶι τῶι ἐν Κρουνοῖς, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου
MMM. Βεβαιωτῆρες κατέστασε κατὰ τὸν νόμο-
ν Λέωνα, Ἀρχέλαον Πωρίοις. Τὰν ὠνὰν φυλάσσο-
ντι οἱ ἄρχοντες. Μάρτυροι Φιλλίδας, Ἀρχέλαος,
Φλῶρος, Θρασύλαος, Τελέσαρχος, Ξένων,
Πανκράτης Πώριοι.

7.—On the same slab as No. 6, and immediately below it.

Γραμματεύοντος θεαροῖς ἐν Ναυπά-
κτωι Ἀριστοκράτεος τοῦ Παρμενίδα,
μηνὸς Ἀθαναίου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀρχόντων ἐν
Βουττοῖ Ἀλεξιάδα, Τιμαίου, ἀπέδοντο
5 Ἀνδρὼ Ἀριστάρχου, Ἀνδρὼ Οἰκα * α Φυλλα-
ῖαι σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον ὧι ὄνομα Κόσμος, τὸ γέ-
νος Θρᾶικα, τοῖ Ἀσκλαπιοῖ τοῖ ἐν Κρουνοῖς,
ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τριῶν, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι. Βε-
βαιωτῆρες κατὰ τὸν νόμον Σάτυρος Ἀρι-
10 στοβούλου, Ἀντίοχος Φυλλαῖοι. Μάρτυροι
Τείσων, Ἀρώπων, Θασύλας, Ἀριστόβουλος,
Ἀρκίσιος, Νείκαρχος, Παυσανίας Φυλλαῖοι·
Ἀλεξιάδας Βούττιος, Λέων ὁ ἄρχων. Τὰν
ὠνὰν φυλάσσοντι Ἀλεξιάδας Βούττιος,
15 Ἀρίστων Φυλλαῖος.

8.—On a fragment broken from the lower corner of a quadrangular base of some kind. There is much missing from the right hand side of A, and from the left hand side of B, the adjacent side. Letters poor and careless, but of the same epoch as the foregoing inscriptions. This fragment is now in the house of my guide, Christos Tasópulos, at Naupaktos.

B.

Α
ΝΑΥ
ΥΛΑΣ
ΣΘΕ⌐

A.

ἐπιτάσ[σομενον Βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ]
τὸν νόμ[ον]. . . Μάρ]
τυροι Ἀμ . . .
λων Ἐλαφ[.]. . . Ναυ-]
5 πάκτιοι . Τὰν [ὠνὰν φυλάσσοντι Ναυ-]
πάκτιοι ἄρχοντ[ες . . .
τίων Λεοντομέν[ης . . .
Δαμέας · ἐν δὲ Ναυ[πάκτωι . . .
κος Νικοδάμου Θεο . . .

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